Serfojee Rajah 1818
1724
1671

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE;

AND A VIEW OF THE

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,

FROM THE

RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763.

IN A SERIES OF

LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH

A CONTINUATION,

EXTENDING TO THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

MAHARAJAH SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; G. WILKIE AND J. ROBINSON; J. WALKER; J. STOCKDALE; G. ROBINSON; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN; CUTHELL AND MARTIN; CADELL AND DAVIES; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME; VERNOR, HOOD, AND SHARPE; B. CROSBY AND CO.; LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO.; J. RICHARDSON; W. STEWART; BLACK, PARRY, AND KINGSBURY; AND FOR J. FAULDER.

1801.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

THE TANJORE MA S SARASWATI MAHAL

A

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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.

LETTER LXXI.

A general View of the Transactions of Europe, from the Death of Charles IX. in 1574, to the Accession of Henry IV. the first King of France of the Branch of Bourbon, in 1589; including the Rise of the Republic of Holland, the Catastrophe of Sebastian King of Portugal, the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

A PARTICULAR detail of the memorable events of this period would rather perplex the memory than inform the judgement. I shall therefore, my dear Philip, content myself with offering you a general survey. Consequences are chiefly to be noted.

The death of Charles IX., though the subject of rejoicing among the Huguenots, was far from healing the wounds of France, yet bleeding from the late massacres. The duke of Anjou, who succeeded him under the name of Henry III., and who, as I

A. D. 1574.

have already observed, had been elected king of Poland, whence he eloped with the secrecy of a felon, found the kingdom in the greatest disorder imaginable. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had greater effect than the will of the sovereign; even the Catholics, to whom the king was attached, being entirely guided by the counsels of the duke of Guise and his family.

Henry, by the advice of the queen-mother, who had governed the kingdom till his arrival, formed a scheme for the restoration of the royal authority, by acting as umpire between the parties; by moderating their differences, and reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the dissimulation necessary for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound understanding, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere more closely to their respective leaders.

Meanwhile the Huguenots were not only strengthened by the accession of Francis duke of Anjou, the king's brother (late duke of Alençon), and by the ar-
A.D. 1575. rival of a German army under the prince of Condé, but by the presence of the gallant king of Navarre, who had also made his escape from court, and placed himself at their head. Henry, in prosecution of his moderating scheme, entered into a treaty with them; and, desirous of preserving a balance between
A.D. 1576. the factions, granted peace to the Protestants on the most advantageous conditions. They obtained the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court; party-chambers, consisting of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, were erected in all the parliaments of the kingdom, for the more equitable ad-

ministration of justice; all attainders were reversed, and eight cautionary towns were put into their hands[1].

This treaty of pacification, which was the fifth concluded with the Huguenots, gave extreme disgust to the Catholics, and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the conduct of the king, and of laying the foundation of the famous LEAGUE, projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain; an association which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the new doctrines. In order to divert the force of the League from the throne, and even to obstruct its efforts against the Huguenots, Henry declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Catholics; but his dilatory and feeble measures discovered his reluctance to the undertaking, and some unsuccessful enterprises brought on a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the Protestants, gave no satisfaction to the followers of the ancient religion. The animosity of party, daily whetted by theological controversy, was now too keen to admit toleration: the king's moderation appeared criminal to one faction, and suspicious to both; while the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and of the king of Navarre on the other, engaged by degrees the bulk of the nation to enlist under one or the other of those great leaders. Religious hatred produced a contempt of all civil regulations; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel[2].

A.D. 1577.

These commotions, though of a domestic nature, were too important to be overlooked by foreign princes. Queen Elizabeth, who always considered her interests as connected with the prosperity of the French Protestants, and the depression of the house of Guise, had repeatedly supplied the Huguenots with considerable sums of money,

1 Davila.—D'Aubigné.—Mezeray. 2 Thuan.—Davila.

notwithstanding her negotiations with the court of France. Philip II. on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the League, had entered into the closest correspondence with the duke of Guise, and employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The subjection of the Huguenots, he flattered himself, would be followed by the submission of the Flemings; and the same political motives which induced Elizabeth to assist the French reformers, would have led her to aid the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries: but the mighty power of Philip, and the great force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, had hitherto kept her in awe, and induced her to preserve some appearance of friendship with that monarch.

Elizabeth, however, had given protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and, as many of these were the most skilful and industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, then so celebrated for manufactures, they brought with them several useful arts, hitherto unknown, or little cultivated, in England. The queen had also permitted the Flemish privateers to enter the English harbours, and there dispose of their prizes. But, on the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador, she withdrew that liberty[3]; a measure which, in the issue, proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip, and which naturally leads us back to the history of the civil wars in the Low Countries.

The Gueux, or *beggars*, as the Flemish sea-adventurers were called, being shut out from the English harbours, were under the necessity of attempting to secure one of their own. They accordingly attacked, in 1572, the Brille, a sea port in Holland; and, by a furious assault, made themselves masters of the place[4].

Unimportant as this conquest may seem, it alarmed the

3 Camd. Annales. 4 Grotii Annales, lib. ii.

duke of Alva; who, putting a stop to those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings in order to enforce his oppressive taxes, withdrew the garrison from Brussels, and detached it against the Gueux. Experience soon proved that his fears were well grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, rendered desperate by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms on the approach of a military force; defeated the Spanish detachment, and put themselves under the protection of the prince of Orange; who, though unsuccessful in his former attempt, still meditated the relief of the Netherlands. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom, could inspire. In a short time almost the whole province of Holland, and also that of Zealand, threw off the Spanish yoke[5]; and the prince, by uniting the revolted towns in a league, laid the foundation of that illustrious republic, whose arms and policy long made so considerable a figure in the transactions of Europe, and whose commerce, frugality, and persevering industry, are still the wonder of the world.

The love of liberty transformed into heroes men little accustomed to arms, and naturally averse from war. The prince of Orange took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde; and the desperate defence of Haarlem, which nothing but the extremity of famine could overcome, convinced the duke of Alva of the pernicious effects of his violent counsels. He entreated the Hollanders, whom his severities had only exasperated, to lay down their arms, and rely on the king's generosity; and he gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost lenity would be shown to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion. But the people were not disposed to confide

5 Le Clerc.—Temple.—Grot. Annales.

MAHARAJA BERFOOI'S ... JORE

in promises so often violated, or to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor who were known to be equally perfidious and inhuman. Now reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bade defiance to fortune. The duke, enraged at their firmness, laid siege to Alcmaer, where his men were repulsed; a great fleet which he had fitted out was defeated by the Zealanders: he petitioned to be recalled from his government, and boasted at his departure, that in the course of five years he had consigned eighteen thousand individuals to the hands of the public executioner[6].

Alva was succeeded in the Low Countries by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor erected at Antwerp. But neither this popular act nor the mild disposition of the new governor could reconcile the Hollanders to the Spanish dominion. Their injuries were too recent and too grievous to be soon forgotten. The war was continued with obstinacy. The success was various. Middleburgh was taken by the revolters in 1574, while Louis of Nassau, with a considerable body of troops, intended as a reinforcement to his brother, the prince of Orange, was surprised near a village called Noock, and his army defeated. He and one of his brothers were left dead on the field of battle. Leyden was invested by the Spaniards; and the most amazing examples of valour and constancy were displayed on both sides during the siege. The Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive the besiegers from that enterprise; and the Spaniards had the hardiness to continue their purpose, and to attempt to drain off the inundation. The besieged suffered every species of misery, and were at last so reduced by famine, as to be obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. But they did not suffer in vain. A violent south-west wind drove the

6 Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

inundation with fury against the works of the besiegers, when every human hope seemed to fail; and Valdez, the Spanish general, in danger of being swallowed up by the waves, was constrained to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army[7].

The repulse at Leyden was followed, in 1575, by the conferences at Breda. There the emperor endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between the king of Spain and the states of the Low Countries, originally subject to the empire, and over which its jurisdiction was still supreme. But these negotiations proving unsuccessful, hostilities were renewed, and pushed with vigour by the Spaniards. They met with a proportional resistance in many places; particularly at Woerden, the reduction of which they were obliged to abandon, after a siege of several months, and a great loss of men.

But the contest was unequal, between a great monarchy and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, or defended by the desperate valour of the inhabitants. The Spaniards made themselves masters of the island of Finart, east of Zealand; they entered Zealand itself, in spite of all opposition; they reduced Ziriczee, after an obstinate resistance; and, as a last blow, were projecting the reduction of Holland[8].

Now it was that the revolted provinces saw the necessity of foreign assistance, in order to preserve them from final ruin; and they sent a solemn embassy to Elizabeth, their most natural ally, offering her the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, if she would employ her power in their defence. But that princess, though inclined by many strong motives to accept so liberal an offer, prudently rejected it. Though magnanimous, she had never cherished the ambition of making conquests, or of acquiring, by any other means, an accession of territory. The sole purpose of her vigilant and active policy was to maintain, by the

7 Meteren.—Bentivoglio.—Le Clerc. 8 Bentivoglio.—Le Clerc.

most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy appeared the probable consequence of supporting the revolted provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never in honour abandon them, how desperate soever their defence might become, but must embrace it even in opposition to her interest. The possession of Holland and Zealand, though highly inviting to a commercial nation, did not seem equivalent to such hazard. The queen, therefore, refused in positive terms the offered sovereignty; but informed the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the states had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the best terms possible. She accordingly dispatched Sir Henry Cobham to Philip, who took her mediation in good part; but no accommodation ensued[9]. The war in the Netherlands was carried on with the same rage and violence as before, when an accident saved the infant republic.

Requesens dying suddenly at a time when large arrears were due to the Spanish troops, they broke into a furious mutiny, in 1576; attacked and pillaged the wealthy city of Antwerp, executing terrible slaughter on the inhabitants, and threatened other towns with a like fate. This danger united all the provinces, except Luxemburgh, in a confederacy commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the states[10].

Don John of Austria, who had been appointed to succeed Requesens, found every thing in confusion on his rival in the Low Countries. He saw the impossibility of resistance, and agreed to whatever was required of him;—to confirm the pacification of Ghent, and dismiss the Spanish army. After these concessions he was acknowledged

9 Camd. Ann. 10 Bentiv. lib. ix.—Thuan, lib. lxii.

governor, and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; liberty had leisure to breathe, commerce began to lift her head, and the arts again to dispense their blessings.

But the ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for the exercise of his military talents, lighted anew the torch of discord and the flames of civil war. As he found the states determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles; seised Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army. Animated by the successes of his youth, he had opened his mind to vast undertakings; and, looking beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had projected a marriage with the queen of Scots, and (in her right) the acquisition of both the British kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions, and no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, whose independence seemed now intimately connected with her own safety. She accordingly entered into an alliance with them; sent them a sum of money; and, soon after, a body of troops[11]. Casimir, count palatine of the Rhine, also engaged to support them, and collected for that purpose an army of German Protestants.

A.D. 1578.

But the people of the Netherlands, while they were strengthening themselves by foreign alliances, were weakened by dissensions at home. The duke d'Arschot, governor of Flanders, and several other Catholic noblemen, jealous of the prince of Orange, who, on the return of the Spanish forces, had been elected governor of Brabant, privately invited the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolph II., to the government of the Low Countries. Matthias accepted the proposal; quitted Prague in the night; and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, to the astonishment of the states. Swayed by

11 Camd. Ann.

maxims of true policy and patriotism, the prince of Orange embraced the interest of the archduke; and, by that prudent measure, divided the German and Spanish branches of the house of Austria. Don John was deposed by a decree of the States; Matthias was appointed governor-general of the provinces, and the prince of Orange his lieutenant, to the great mortification of d'Arschot[12].

Being joined by Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, with eighteen thousand veterans, Don John attacked the army of the states near Gemblours, and gained a considerable advantage over them. But the cause of liberty sustained a much greater misfortune in that jealousy which arose between the Protestant and Catholic provinces. The prince of Orange, by reason of his moderation, became suspected by both parties; Matthias, receiving no support from Germany, fell into contempt; and the duke of Anjou, through the prevalence of the Catholic interest, was declared *Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands*[13].

Don John took advantage of these fluctuating counsels to push his military operations, and made himself master of several places. But he was so warmly received by the English auxiliaries at Rimenant, that he was obliged to give ground; and seeing little hope of future success, on account of the number of troops assembled against him, under Casimir (who was paid by Elizabeth) and the duke of Anjou, he is supposed to have died of chagrin; others say, of poison given him by order of Philip, who dreaded his ambition. He was succeeded by the prince of Parma, who was superior to him both in war and negotiation, and whose address and clemency gave a new turn to the affairs of Spain in the Netherlands.

The allies, in the mean while, spent their time in quarrelling, instead of acting. Neither the army of prince Casimir nor that of the duke of Anjou proved of any use to

12 Le Clerc, lib iii.

13 Grot. Ann. lib. iii.—Meteren, lib. x.

the states. The Catholics were jealous of the first, the Protestants of the last; and the two leaders were jealous of each other. Those evils induced the prince of Orange to form the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with such others as were most contiguous; Utrecht, Friseland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Guelderland, in which the Protestant interest predominated. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed the famous Union, in appearance so slight, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

Jan. 15, 1579.

It was agreed, that the Seven Provinces should unite themselves in interest as one province, reserving to each individual province and city all its own privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that, in all disputes between particular provinces, the rest should interpose only as mediators; and that they should assist each other with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any single province[14]. The first coin struck after this alliance was strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant*; "I know not what may be my fate.'

The states had indeed great reason for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; and Philip, instead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the Union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to resign the interests of his country for any private advantage. He was determined to share the fate of the United Provinces; and they required all his support. The prince of

14 Temple, chap. i.—Grot. lib. iii.

Parma was making rapid progress both by his arts and arms. He had concluded a treaty with the Walloons, a name commonly given to the natives of the southern provinces of the Netherlands: he gained the confidence of the Catholic party in general, and took many towns from the revolters. The states, however, continued resolute, though sensible of their weakness. They again made an offer of their sovereignty to Elizabeth; and, as she still rejected it, they conferred it on the duke of

A.D. 1580. Anjou, finally withdrawing their allegiance from Philip[15].

While Philip was losing the Seven United Provinces, fortune threw in his way a new sovereignty. Sebastian, king of Portugal, great grandson of the illustrious Emanuel, inflamed with the passion for military glory, resolved to signalise himself by an expedition against the Moors. He espoused the cause of Muley Mohammed, whom Muley Moluch, his uncle, had dispossessed of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; and disregarding the opinions of his wisest counsellors, embarked for Africa, in 1578, with an army of twenty thousand men. The army of Muley Moluch was superior; but that circumstance only roused the courage of Sebastian, who even wore green armour that he might be the better mark for the enemy. The two armies engaged near Alcazar-quivir; and, after a desperate conflict, all the Christians were either killed or taken prisoners. Sebastian himself was among the slain. The two Moorish princes, uncle and nephew, were left dead on the field[16].

The king of Portugal, having left no issue, was suc-

15 Grot. lib. iii.

16 H. de Mendoza.—Cabrera.—Thuan.—MuleyMoluch, who appears to have been a great and generous prince, died with the most heroic magnanimity. Wasted by an inveterate disease, which the fatigue of the battle had rendered mortal, he desired his attendants to keep his death secret till the fortune of the day should be decided. Even after he had lost the use of speech, he laid his finger on his lips

ceeded by his great-uncle, cardinal Henry; who also dying without children, a number of competitors arose for the crown. Among these were the king of Spain, the duke of Braganza, Antonio, prior of Crato, the duke of Savoy, Catharine of Medicis, and Pope Gregory XIII., who, extraordinary as it may seem, attempted to renew the obsolete claim of the holy see to the sovereignty of Portugal. The claim of Philip, who was nephew to Henry by the mother's side, was not the best; but he had most power to support it. The old duke of Alva, who had been for some time in disgrace, like a mastiff unchained for fighting, was recalled to court, and put at the head of an army. He gained two victories over Antonio; who, of all the other competitors, alone pretended to assert his title by arms. These victories decided the contest. Philip was crowned at Lisbon; and a price was set on the head of Antonio[17]. A.D. 1581.

A price was also set on the head of the prince of Orange, as soon as it was known in Spain that the United Provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from Philip; and an attempt was soon after made upon his life, by a man of desperate fortune, in order to obtain the reward. Now first did the states become truly sensible of the value of that great man. The joy of the Spaniards, on a false report of his death, could only be equalled by that of the Flemings when informed of his safety; yet a jealousy of liberty, and a dread of his ambition, still prevented them from appointing him their supreme governor, though A.D. 1582.

as a farther injunction of secrecy; and stretching himself in his litter, calmly expired in the field of victory. With regard to the manner of Don Sebastian's death, historians are by no means agreed; but all admit that he fought gallantly, and disdained to survive the defeat of his army. Some say, that he laid violent hands upon himself; others, that being disarmed and made prisoner by the victors, he was slain by a Moorish officer, who came up while the soldiers were violently disputing their right to the royal captive. Thuan. *Hist. sui Temp.*

17 Faria y Sousa.—Cabrera.

every day convinced them of the imprudence, rapacity, and dangerous design of the duke of Anjou. This young prince had at first assembled a considerable army, and driven the enemy from the siege of Cambray; but a project of marrying queen Elizabeth, whose amorous dalliances with him are somewhat unaccountable, and by no means justifiable, unless sincere, led him to waste his time in England, while the prince of Parma was making rapid progress in the Netherlands. On his return he totally lost the confidence of the states, by a rash and violent attack upon their liberties; was obliged to leave the United Provinces; retired into France; and died soon after in contempt[18].

The archduke Matthias had returned to Germany, on the elevation of his rival; so that the prince of Parma and William of Nassau, the two greatest generals of the age, were now left to dispute the possession of the Netherlands, which became the chief theatre of war in Europe, and the school to which men of courage, from all nations, resorted to study the military art.

England, during these commotions, had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity. But the prospect now began to be overcast; and Elizabeth saw the approach of danger from more than one quarter. The earl of Lenox, cousin to the young king of Scotland, and captain Stewart, afterwards earl of Arran, had found means to detach James from the English interest; and by their intrigues the earl of Morton, who during his whole regency had preserved that kingdom in strict alliance with Elizabeth, was brought to the scaffold, as an accomplice in the murder of the late king[19].

18 Mezeray.—Camden.—Le Clerc.

19 Spotswood.—Morton owned that Bothwell had informed him of the design against the king's life, solicited him to concur in the execution of it, and affirmed it was authorised by the queen. He at first, if we may believe his dying words,

A body of the Scottish nobility, however, dissatisfied with the administration of Lenox and Arran, formed a conspiracy, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seising the person of the king at the castle of Ruthven, the seat of the earl of Gowrie; and the design, being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. James, who was then sixteen years of age, wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but no compassion was shown him. "Mind not his tears," said the master of Glamis:—"it is better that boys should weep than bearded men." The king was obliged to submit to the present necessity; to profess an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the conspirators, and to acknowledge the detention of his person to be an acceptable service. Arran was confined in his own house, and Lenox retired into France, where he soon after died[20].

But the affairs of Scotland remained not long in this situation. James made his escape from his keepers, and summoned his friends to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the leaders of the Gowrie party, unable to resist their powerful adversaries, took refuge in England.

A. D. 1583. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; a new attempt to disturb the government was defeated; the earl of Gowrie was brought to the block; and severe laws were enacted against the Presbyterian clergy, who

absolutely declined having any concern in such a measure; and, when afterwards urged to the same purpose, he required a warrant under the queen's hand, authorising the attempt. As no such warrant was produced, he refused to take part in the enterprise. And as an apology for concealing this treasonable undertaking, he very plausibly urged, in his own vindication, the irresolution of Darnley, and criminal situation of Mary. "To whom," said he, "could I make the discovery? The "queen was the author of the conspiracy. Darnley was such a changeling, that no "secret could be safely communicated to him. Huntley and Bothwell, who bore "the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime." Spotswood, p. 314.—Crawford's *Mem.* Append. III.—Robertson, book vi.

20 Melvil.—Spotswood.—Calderwood.

had applauded the *Raid of Ruthven*, as the late conspiracy was called[21].

During these transactions in Scotland, the king of Spain, though he had not come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, sent, in the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, in order to retaliate for the assistance which she gave to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries. But the invaders, though joined by many of the discontented Irish, were all cut off, except their chief officers, by lord Grey, the queen's deputy, and fifteen hundred of the rebels were hanged; a severity which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth[22].

When the English ambassador at the court of Madrid complained of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies of Francis Drake; a bold navigator, who had passed into the South Sea by the strait of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards in those parts where they least expected an enemy, had taken many rich prizes, and returned safely by the Cape of Good Hope, in the autumn of the year 1580. As he was the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated on account of so hazardous and fortunate an adventure; and the queen, who loved valour, and hoped to share in the spoil, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted a banquet from him in the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage. She caused, however, part of the booty to be restored, in order to appease the Catholic king[23].

A.D. 1584. But Elizabeth's dangers from abroad might have been regarded as of small importance, had her own subjects been united at home. Unhappily that was not the case. The zeal of the Catholics, excited by constraint rather than persecution, daily threatened her with an insurrection. Not satisfied with incessant outcries against her

21 Spotswood. 22 Camd. Ann. 23 Camd. Ann.

severity towards the queen of Scots, and against the court of High Commission (an ecclesiastical tribunal, erected by the queen, for taking cognisance of non-conformity, and which was certainly too arbitrary), the Romish priests, especially in the foreign seminaries for the education of English students of the Catholic communion, endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to deprive her of life.

Those seminaries, founded by Philip, the pope, and the cardinal of Lorrain, in order to prevent the decay of the ancient religion in England, sent over yearly a colony of young priests, who maintained the Romish superstition in its full height of bigotry; and who, being often detected in treasonable practices, occasioned that severity of which their sect complained. They were all under the direction of the Jesuits, an active order of regular priests established after the Reformation, when the court of Rome perceived that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who had sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side by the bold and inquisitive spirit of the age, and the virulence of the persecuted Protestants. These ghostly fathers, who by the very nature of their institution were engaged to pervert learning, and who, where it could serve their pious purposes, employed it to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, persuaded Dr. William Parry, a convert to the Catholic faith, that he could not perform a more acceptable service to Heaven than to take away the life of his sovereign. Parry, then at Milan, was confirmed in this opinion by Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, and even by the pope himself, who exhorted him to persevere, and granted him, for his encouragement, a plenary indulgence, and remission of his sins. Though still agitated with doubts, he came over to England, with an intention of executing his bloody purpose. But happily his irresolution continued; and he was at last betrayed by one Nevil, of

the family of Westmoreland, to whom he had communicated his scheme. Being thrown into prison, he confessed his guilt, received sentence of death, and suffered
A. D. 1585. the punishment directed by the law for his treasonable conspiracy [24].

Such murderous attempts, the result of that bigoted spirit by which the followers of the two religions, but more especially the Catholics, were actuated, every-where now appeared. About the same time that this design against the life of Elizabeth was brought to light, the prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a desperate enthusiast, who believed himself impelled by the Divinity, as we are told by the Jesuit Strada, to commit that barbarous action. But the assassin, when put to the torture, declared, perhaps no less truly, that the reward promised by Philip, in his proscription of William, had been his principal motive [25].

The United Provinces, now deprived of their chief hope, were filled with sorrow and consternation: a general gloom involved their affairs; despondency appeared in every face; and anarchy reigned in their councils. The provinces of Holland and Zealand alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and to show their gratitude to William, by electing his son Maurice their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land. The youth had not completed his eighteenth year; but such marks of genius distinguished his character as proved him worthy of the dignity to which he was raised.

In Spain it was imagined, that the death of the prince of Orange would deprive the confederates of their spirit, and of all ability to withstand the power of Philip. But when the first emotions of grief and surprise had subsided, it produced contrary effects. Rage took place of despair; and the horror of the assassination, universally attributed

24 *State Trials*, vol. i.—Strype, vol. iii.
25 Grot.—Bentiv.—Thuan.

to the intrigues of Philip, so irritated the people, that they resolved to prosecute the war with unremitted vigour, and revenge the death of their great deliverer [26].

The prince of Parma, having reduced Ghent and Brussels, was making preparations for the siege of Antwerp, the richest and most populous city in the Netherlands. On his approach, the citizens opened the sluices, cut down the dykes, and overflowed the neighbouring country, so as to sweep away all his magazines. Not discouraged by this loss, he diligently laboured to repair the misfortune, and cut, with extraordinary expedition, a canal from Steken to Caloo, in order to carry off the waters. He next erected that great monument of his genius, a fortified bridge across the deep and rapid river Scheld, to prevent all communication with the town by sea. The besieged attempted to burn it, or blow it up, by sending two fire-ships against it; but this scheme failing, and the besiegers daily making progress in spite of every effort to oppose them, Antwerp sent deputies to the prince, and agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Philip [27].

Domestic jealousy, no less than the valour of the Spaniards, or the conduct of their general, contributed to the fall of this flourishing city. The Hollanders, and particularly the citizens of Amsterdam, obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of Antwerp, hoping to profit by its reduction. The Protestants, it was concluded, would forsake it, as soon as it fell into the hands of Philip. The conjecture proved just: Antwerp went hourly to decay; and Amsterdam, enriched by the conflux of industrious artificers and traders, became the greatest commercial city in the Netherlands.

This rivalry, however, of the citizens of Amsterdam, so singular in the annals of mankind! in seeking a problematical private advantage, at the expense of public safety,

26 Grot. lib. iv.—Meteren, lib. xii.

27 Meteren, lib. xii.—Grot. lib. v.—Thuan.

and when exposed to the most imminent danger, had almost occasioned the subjection of all the revolted provinces. The loss of Antwerp was a severe blow in the declining state of their affairs; and the only hope that remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign aid. Well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they tendered the sovereignty of their country to the king of France. But the distracted state of that monarchy obliged Henry to reject so advantageous an offer. The death of the duke of Anjou, which he expected would bring him relief, by freeing him from the intrigues of that prince, only plunged him in deeper distress. The king of Navarre, a professed Protestant, being now next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise thence took occasion to revive the Catholic league, and to urge the king, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that gallant prince, and the extinction of the whole sect. Henry, though a zealous Catholic, disapproved such measures: he attempted to suppress the league; but finding his authority too weak for that purpose, he was obliged to comply with the demands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, whom the duke had set up as a competitor for the succession against the king of Navarre, to declare war against the Huguenots, and countenance a faction which he regarded as more dangerous to his throne[28]. Any interposition in favour of the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries would have drawn upon him at once the indignation of Philip, the pope, and the Catholic confederates. He was therefore under the necessity of renouncing all thoughts of the proffered sovereignty, though it opened a prospect equally flattering to his ambition and his vengeance.

The United Provinces, in this extremity, again had recourse to Elizabeth; who, although she continued to reject their sovereignty for the reasons formerly assigned,

28 Davila, lib. vii.—Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronol.* tome v.

agreed to yield them more effectual support. She concluded a new treaty with them; in consequence of which she was put in possession of the Brille, Flushing, and the castle of Rammekens, as a security for the payment of her expenses. She knew that the step she had taken would immediately engage her in hostilities with Philip; yet she was not alarmed at the view of the present greatness of that prince; though such prepossessions were generally entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when informed that the queen of England had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, "She has now taken "the diadem from her head, and placed it upon the point "of a sword[29]."

But Elizabeth, though her natural disposition, cautious rather than enterprising, induced her to prefer peace, was not afraid of war; and when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimity and boldness. She now prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole strength of the Catholic king. The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliaries, consisting of five thousand foot and a thousand horse; while sir Francis Drake was dispatched with a fleet of twenty sail, and a body of land forces, to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. This gallant seaman reduced St. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola, Carthagena, and several other places; and returned to England with such riches, and such accounts of the Spanish weakness in the New World, as served to stimulate the nation to future enterprises[30]. A.D. 1586.

The English arms were less successful in the Low Countries. Leicester possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen: and the states, who, from a knowledge of his influence with Elizabeth, and a desire of engaging that princess still farther

29 Camd. Ann. 30 Camd. Ann.

in their defence, had honoured him with the title of governor and captain-general of the provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and invested him with a power almost dictatorial, soon found their confidence misplaced. He not only showed his inability to direct military operations, by suffering the prince of Parma to advance in a rapid course of conquests, but abused his authority, by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. Intoxicated with his elevation, he assumed the air of a sovereign prince; refused the instructions of the states; thrust into all vacant places his own worthless favourites; excited the people to rise against the magistrates; introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion. The Dutch even suspected him of a design upon their liberties; and Elizabeth, in order to quiet their fears, or lest an attempt should be made against the life of her favourite, commanded him to resign his government, and return home[31]. Prince Maurice was elected governor in the room of the earl of Leicester, and lord Willoughby was by the queen appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces.

In the mean time Elizabeth was occupied about more immediate dangers than those from the Spanish arms; though Philip had already formed the most hostile designs against her, and had commenced his preparations for that famous armament denominated the Invincible Armada.—Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, instigated by a Romish priest named Ballard, engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign, as a necessary prelude to the deliverance of the queen of Scots, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England; and so confident was he of success, and so meritorious did he deem his undertaking, that, in order to perpetuate the memory of it, he caused a picture to be drawn, in which he was represented standing amidst his six confederates,

31 Camd.—Meteren.—Grot.

with a motto, expressing that their common danger was the bond of their fidelity. Happily the plot was discovered by the vigilance of secretary Walsingham; and Babington, with the priest and twelve other conspirators, suffered death for their treasonable schemes[32].

The scene that followed was new and extraordinary. On the trial of the delinquents, it appeared that the queen of Scots, who had corresponded with Babington, had encouraged him in his enterprise: and it was resolved, by Elizabeth and her ministers, to bring Mary to a public trial, as being accessary to the conspiracy. Her papers were accordingly seised, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. After the necessary information had been obtained, forty commissioners and five of the judges were sent to Fotheringay-castle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cause.

An idea so repugnant to majesty as that of an arraignment for treason, had not once entered the mind of the queen of Scots, though she no longer doubted that her destruction was determined on; nor had the strange resolution yet reached her ears, in the solitude of her prison. She received the intelligence, however, without emotion or astonishment; and she protested in the most solemn manner, that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, at the same time that she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into England," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority; nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can

32 Camd. Ann.—Murden's *State Papers*.—*State Trials*, vol. i.

"be my peers. The subjects of the queen of England, "how noble soever their birth may be, are of rank inferior "to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have "been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me "protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to "take away my life[33]."

Mary, however, was at last persuaded to appear before the commissioners, "to hear and to give answer to the "accusations which should be offered against her," though she still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate his authority, by pleading the supreme jurisdiction of the English laws over every one who resided in England: the lawyers of the crown opened the charge against her; and the delegates, after hearing her defence, pronounced sentence of death at Westminster upon the unfortunate princess, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions[34]. October 25.

The chief evidence against Mary arose from the declarations of her secretaries; for no proof could otherwise be produced that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction: and the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means conclusive. In order to screen them-

33 Robertson, book vii.

34 Camd. Ann.—It is remarkable, that among the charges against Mary, she was accused, and seemingly on good grounds, of negotiating with the king of Spain, for transferring to him her claim to the English crown, and disinheriting her heretical son; that she had even entered into a conspiracy against James; had appointed lord Claude Hamilton regent of Scotland; and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be freed but on condition of his becoming a Catholic. See *Letter to Charles Paget*, May 20, 1586, in Forbes' *Collect.* and Murden, p. 506.

selves they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating the oath of fidelity which they had taken in consequence of their office; and their perjury in one instance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another. Besides, they were not confronted with her, though she desired that they might be, and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, persist in their evidence.

But the condemnation of the queen of Scots, not justice, was the object of this unprecedented trial; and the sentence, after many hesitations and delays, was carried into execution. Never did Mary appear so great as in the last scene of her life: she was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been excluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell, he burst into tears, bewailing the condition of a mistress whom he loved, as well as his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry into Scotland the news of such a mournful event as the catastrophe that awaited her. "Weep not, good Melvil," said she: "there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. "Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all "her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings "as she has long expected. But witness that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing "injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; "and God forgive all those who have thirsted, without "cause, for my blood!" On ascending the scaffold, she began, with the aid of her women, to take off her veil and upper garments; and the executioner rudely endeavouring to assist them, she gently checked him, and smiling said, "I have not been accus- "tomed to undress before so many spectators, or to be

A.D. 1587.

February 8.

"served by such valets!" and soon after, laid her head on the block, with calm but undaunted fortitude[35].

Such, my dear Philip, was the fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, one of the most amiable and accomplished of her sex; who, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, fell a victim to the jealousy and to the fears of an offended rival. But although Mary's trial was illegal, and her execution arbitrary, history will not permit us to suppose that her actions were at no time criminal. With all the ornaments both of body and mind, which can embellish the female character, she had many of the weaknesses of a woman; and our sympathy with her long and accumulated sufferings, seen through the medium of her beauty, can alone prevent us from viewing her, notwithstanding her elegant qualities, with that degree of abhorrence which is excited by the pollution of the marriage-bed and the guilt of murder[36].

Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmost surprise and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning, were all employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe, that the queen of Scots, her dear sister and kinswoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and against her inclination; and, to complete this farce, she commanded Davison, her secretary, to be thrown into prison, under pretence that he had ex-

35 *La Mort de la Reyne d'Escosse*, ap. Jebb.—Camden.—Spotswood.

36 All contemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance and elegance of shape of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black; though, according to the fashion of the times, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were of a dark grey; her complexion was exquisitely fine; her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of a height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal ease. Her taste for music was just; and she sang sweetly, and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Robertson, from Brantome.

ceeded his commission, in dispatching the fatal warrant, which she never intended to carry into execution[37].

This hypocritical disguise was assumed chiefly to appease the young king of Scotland, who seemed determined to employ the whole force of his dominions in order to revenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambassador from England, refused to admit the English envoy into his presence, and with difficulty condescended to receive a memorial from the queen. Every thing bore the appearance of war. Many of his nobles instigated him to take up arms immediately, and the Catholics recommended an alliance with Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger of such a league. After allowing James a decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her: and these, joined to the queen's dissimulation, and the pacific disposition of that prince, prevailed over his resentment. He fell gradually into a good understanding with the court of England.

While Elizabeth was thus ensuring the tranquillity of her kingdom from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not inattentive to more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip was secretly preparing that prodigious armament which had for its object the entire conquest of England, she sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage the coasts of his dominions, and destroy his shipping: and that gallant commander, besides other advantages, was so successful as to take, sink,

37 Camden.—After thus freely censuring Elizabeth, and showing the defectiveness of the evidence against Mary, I am bound to own that it appears from a passage in her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th July 1586, that she had accepted Babington's offer to assassinate the English queen. "As to Babington," says she, "he hath *kindly* and *honestly offered himself* and all his *means, to be* "*employed* any way I would. *Whereupon* I hope to have *satisfied him* by *two* of "my *several letters*, since I had his." (Murden's *Collect.* p. 533.) This incontestable evidence puts her guilt beyond all controversy.

or burn, in the harbour of Cadiz, almost a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. About the same time sir Thomas Cavendish, a private adventurer, launched into the South Seas in three small ships; committed great depredations on the Spaniards in those parts; gained some rich prizes; and, returning by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in a kind of triumph[38].

By these fortunate enterprises, the English seamen learned to despise the large unwieldy ships of the enemy, in which chiefly they placed their hopes of success. The naval magazines of Spain were destroyed, and means were taken to prevent Philip from being able suddenly to repair the loss, by an artificial run upon the bank of Genoa, whence he expected a large loan—a measure which was conducted by an English merchant, in conjunction with his foreign correspondents, and does great honour to the sagacity of the English ministry[39]. The sailing of the armada was retarded for twelve months; and the queen thus gained leisure to take more effectual measures for obstructing its success.

Meanwhile Philip, whose resolution was finally taken, determined to execute his ambitious project with all possible force and effect. His purpose being no longer concealed, every part of his European dominions resounded with the noise of armaments, and the treasures of both Indies were exhausted in vast preparations for war. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force: naval stores were bought up at great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered

38 Monson's *Naval Tracts.*

39 For this anecdote relative to the bank of Genoa we are indebted to the intriguing spirit and inquisitive disposition of bishop Burnet, who conjectures that it was thought too great a *mystery of state* to be communicated to Camden, when the materials were put into his hands for writing the History of the reign of Elizabeth. Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times,* book ii.

in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for such an embarkation as had never before appeared on the ocean.

The military preparations in the Netherlands were no less formidable. Troops were every day assembling to reinforce the prince (now duke) of Parma, who employed all the carpenters he could procure, in building flat-bottomed vessels, to transport into England an army of thirty-five thousand men. These transports were intended to join the grand armada, vainly denominated *invincible*, which was to set sail from Lisbon, and, after chasing out of the way all the Flemish and English vessels, which it was supposed would make little if any resistance, to enter the Thames; to land the whole Spanish army in the neighbourhood of London, and to decide, at one blow, the fate of England. A.D. 1588.

Elizabeth was apprised of all these preparations. She had foreseen the invasion; nor was she dismayed at the aspect of that power by which all Europe apprehended she must be overwhelmed. Her force was indeed very unequal to that of Philip: all the sailors in England did not exceed fifteen thousand men: the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size, and none exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates. But the city of London fitted out thirty vessels to reinforce this small navy; the other sea-port towns a proportional number; and the nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned, forty-three vessels at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was the chief commander; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth; and a smaller squadron, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma[40].

The land forces of England were more numerous than

40 Monson's *Naval Tracts.*

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

those of the enemy, but inferior in discipline and experience. Twenty thousand men were disposed in different bodies along the south coast, with orders to retire and waste the country, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing; twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the earl of Leicester, were stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital; and thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunsdon, were reserved for guarding the queen's person[41].

These armies, even if the Spanish forces had been able to land, might have been sufficient to protect the liberties of their country. But as the fate of England, in that event, must depend on the issue of a single battle, all men of serious reflection entertained the most awful apprehensions of the shock of at least fifty thousand veterans, commanded by experienced officers, under so consummate a general as the duke of Parma. The queen alone was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She appeared on horse-back in the camp at Tilbury; and, riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorting the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "I know," said she, intrepidly, "I have but the weak "and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a "king, and of a king of England too[42]!"

The heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army; and every man resolved to die rather than desert his station. Meanwhile the Spanish armada, after

41 Camd. Ann. 46 Hume's *Hist. Eng.* vol. v. note (BB).

various obstructions, appeared in the channel. It consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels, and carried about twenty thousand soldiers. Effingham, who was informed of its approach by a Scotch pirate, saw it just as he could get out of Plymouth Sound, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, the historians of that age could not justly describe without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they assert, that although the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight[43].

The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, on account of the size of their ships, and the number of soldiers on board; but a few trials convinced him that, even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no advantage to the enemy. Their bulk exposed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English men of war. Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder and precipitation; the English commanders fell upon them while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ships.

43 Camden.—Bentivoglio.

It was now evident that the purpose of the armada was utterly frustrated; and the duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated for transporting soldiers, not for fighting, refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to make his way home; but, as the winds were contrary to his return through the channel, he resolved to take the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and had not their ammunition failed, they would have obliged the armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vain-glorious enterprise would have been truly illustrious to the English; but the event was scarcely less fatal to the Spaniards. The armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys; and the ships having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea, while the mariners unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, allowed them to drive on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen: yet Philip, whose command of temper was equal to his ambition, received with an air of tranquillity the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent "my fleet," said he, "to combat the English, not the "elements. God be praised that the calamity is not "greater[44]."

While the naval power of Spain was receiving this signal blow, great changes happened in France. The Huguenots, notwithstanding the valour of the king of Navarre, who had gained at Coutras, in 1587, a complete victory over the royal army, were reduced to extremities by the power of the League; and nothing but the exorbitant ambition of the duke of Guise, joined to the

44 Ferreras.—Strada.

idolatrous admiration of the Catholics, who considered him as a Saviour, and the king as unworthy of the throne, could have preserved the reformers from utter ruin. The citizens of Paris, among whom the duke was most popular, took arms against their sovereign, and obliged him to abandon his capital at the hazard of his life; while the doctors of the Sorbonne declared, that a weak prince might be removed from the government of his kingdom, as justly as a tutor or guardian, unfit for his office, might be deprived of his trust[45].

Henry's spirit was roused, by the dread of degradation, from that lethargy in which it had long reposed. He dissembled his resentment; negotiated with the Guise faction, and seemed outwardly reconciled, but harboured vengeance in his heart. And that vengeance was hastened by an insolent speech of the duchess of Montpensier, the duke's sister, who, showing a pair of gold scissars, which she wore at her girdle, said, "The best use that I can "make of them is, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy "to sit on the throne of France, in order to qualify him "for a cloister, that ONE *more deserving to reign* may "mount it, and repair the losses which religion and the "state have suffered through the weakness of his prede-"cessor[46]."

After Henry had fully taken his resolution, nine of his guards, singled out by Loignac, first gentleman of his bed-chamber, were introduced to him in his palace. He gave a poniard to each, informed them of their business, and concluded thus: "It is an execution of justice, which "I command you to make on the greatest criminal in my "kingdom, whom all laws, human and divine, permit "me to punish; and not having the ordinary methods of "justice in my power, I authorise you, by the right in-"herent in my royal authority, to strike the blow." They

45 Cayet.

46 Daniel.

were secretly disposed in the passage which led from the king's chamber to his cabinet; and when the duke came to an audience, six poniards were at once plunged into his breast[47]. He groaned and expired.

Dec. 23.

"I am now a king, madam!" said Henry, entering the apartment of the queen-mother, "and have no competi-"tor; the duke of Guise is dead." The cardinal of Guise also was dispatched, a man more violent than even his brother. Among other insolent speeches, he had been heard to say, that he would hold the king's head between his knees till the tonsure should be performed at the monastery of the Capuchins[48].

These cruel executions, which necessity alone could excuse, had an effect very different from what Henry expected. The partisans of the league were inflamed with the utmost rage against him, and every-where flew to arms. Rebellion was reduced to a system. The doctors of the Sorbonne had the arrogance to declare, "that "the people were released from their oath of allegiance "to Henry of Valois:" and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, was chosen by the confederates *Lieutenant-General of the State Royal and Crown of France;* an unknown and unintelligible title, but which was meant as a substitute for sovereignty[49].

A. D. 1589.

In this extremity, the king, almost abandoned by his catholic subjects, entered into an association with the Huguenots and the king of Navarre. He enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, and the princes of the blood, he was enabled to assemble an army of forty thousand men. With these forces the two kings advanced to the gates of Paris, and were ready to crush the league, and

47 Davila.—Du Tillet. 48 Thuan. *Hist.*

49 Mezeray.

subdue all their enemies, when the desperate resolution of one man gave a new turn to the affairs of France.

James Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguished the age, and of which we have seen so many horrid examples, had embraced the pious resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the danger which now threatened it, in consequence of the alliance between Henry and the Huguenots; and being admitted into the king's presence, under pretence of important business, he mortally wounded that prince, while reading some supposed dispatches, and was himself instantly put to death by the guards[50]. This assassination left the succession open to the king of Navarre, who assumed the government under the title of Henry IV. But the reign of that great prince, and the various difficulties which he was obliged to encounter, before he could settle his kingdom, must be reserved for a future letter.

Aug. 1.

In the mean time, I cannot help observing, that the monk who had thus imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign was considered at Paris as a saint and a martyr: he was exalted above Judith, and his image was impiously placed on the altars. Even pope Sixtus V., so deservedly celebrated for his dignity of mind, as well as for the superb edifices with which he adorned Rome, was so much infected with the general contagion, that he compared Clement's enterprise to the incarnation of the Word, and the resurrection of the Saviour.

This observation leads me to another. These holy assassinations, so peculiar to the period that followed the Reformation, proceeded chiefly from the fanatical application of certain passages in the Old Testament to the conjunctures of the times. Enthusiasm taught both Protestants and Catholics to consider themselves as the peculiar favourites of

50 Thuan.—Davila.—Mezeray.

Heaven, and as possessing the only true religion, without allowing themselves coolly to reflect, that the adherents of each had an equal right to this vain pretension. The Protestants founded it on the purity of their principles, the Catholics on the antiquity of their church; and while impelled by their own vindictive passions, by personal animosity or party zeal, to the commission of murder, they imagined that they heard the voice of God commanding them to execute vengeance on his and their enemies.

LETTER LXXII.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Peace of Vervins, in 1598.

THE reign of Henry IV., justly styled the Great, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. The circumstances of the times, the character of the prince and of the man, conspire to render it interesting: and his connexions with other Christian powers, either as allies or enemies, make it an object of general importance. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon him as the hero of its military theatre, and the centre of its political system. Philip and Elizabeth were now but secondary actors.

The prejudices entertained against Henry's religion induced one half of the royal army to desert him on his accession; and it was only by signing propositions favourable to their creed, and promising to listen to the arguments of their divines, that he could engage any of the Catholic nobles to support his title to the crown. The desertion of his troops obliged him to abandon the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the forces of the league, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, who had proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon

king, under the name of Charles X.; although that old man, thrown into prison on the assassination of the Guises, was still in confinement[1].

In this extremity Henry had recourse to the queen of England, and found her well disposed to assist him; to oppose the progress of the league, and of the king of Spain, her dangerous and inveterate enemy, who entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. Elizabeth gratified her new ally with twenty-two thousand pounds, to prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries; and embarked, with all expedition, a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command of lord Willoughby, an officer of abilities. Meanwhile the king of France had been so fortunate as to secure Dieppe and Caen, and to repulse the duke of Mayenne, who had attacked him under the cannon of Arques. On the arrival of the English forces, he marched immediately towards Paris, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, and had almost taken the city by storm; but the duke entering it soon after with his army, Henry judged it prudent to retire.

The king's forces were still much inferior to those of the league; but the deficiency of number was compensated by valour. He attacked the duke of Mayenne at Ivri, and gained a complete victory over him, though supported by a select body of Spanish troops, detached from the Netherlands. Henry's behaviour on this occasion was truly heroic. "My lads," said he to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your "colours, rally towards this," pointing to a large white plume, which he wore in his hat:—"you will always find "it in the road to honour. God is with us!" added he emphatically, drawing his sword, and rushing among his foes;—but when he perceived their ranks broken, and

A. D. 1590.

1 Davila, lib. x.—Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronol.* tome vi.

great havoc committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and induced him to cry out, "Spare my French subjects[2]!" forgetting that they were his enemies.

Soon after this victory, died the cardinal of Bourbon, and the king invested Paris. That city contained two hundred and twenty thousand souls, animated by religious enthusiasm, and Henry's army did not amount to fifteen thousand men; yet he might certainly have reduced it by famine, if not by other means, had not his paternal tenderness for his people made him forget the duty of a soldier, and relax the rigour of war. He left a free passage to the old men, women, and children; he permitted the peasants, and even his own men, to carry provisions secretly to the besieged. "I would rather "never possess Paris," said he, when blamed for this indulgence, "than acquire it by the destruction of its citi- "zens[3]." He feared no reproach so much as that of his own heart.

The duke of Parma, by order of the king of Spain, left the Low Countries, and hastened to the relief of Paris. On his approach Henry raised the siege, and offered him battle; but that able general, having performed the important service for which he was detached, prudently declined the combat. And so great was his skill in the art of war, that he retired in the face of the enemy, without affording an opportunity of attacking him, or even of throwing his army into disorder; and reached his government, where his presence was much wanted, without sus-

2 Davila, lib. xi.—The same great historian tells us, that, when a youth who carried the royal white coronet, and a page who wore a large white plume, like that of the king, were slain, the ranks began to give way—some falling to the right, some to the left—till they recognised Henry, by his plume and his horse, combating in the first line: they then returned to the charge, shutting themselves close together, like a wedge.

3 Daniel, tome ix.—Thuan. lib. xcix.

taining any loss in those long marches. The states, however, were gainers by this expedition: prince Maurice had made rapid progress during the absence of the duke.

After the retreat of the Spaniards, Henry made some fresh attempts upon Paris, which was his grand object; but the vigilance of the citizens, particularly of the faction of Sixteen, by which it was governed, defeated all his designs; and new dangers poured in upon him from every side. When the duke of Parma retired, he left eight thousand men with the duke of Mayenne, for the support of the league; and pope Gregory XIV., at the request of the king of Spain, not only declared Henry a relapsed heretic, and ordered all the Catholics to abandon him, under pain of excommunication, but sent troops and money to join the duke of Savoy, who was already in possession of Provence, and had entered Dauphiné. About the same time the young duke of Guise made his escape from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined since the assassination of his father. All that the king said when informed of these dangers, was, "The more "enemies we have, the more care we must take, and the "more honour there will be in beating them[4]."

Elizabeth, who had withdrawn her troops, on the first prosperous aspect of Henry's affairs, now saw the necessity of again interposing. She sent him three thousand men, under sir John Norris, who had commanded with reputation in the Low Countries; and afterwards four thousand, under the earl of Essex, a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and much real merit, was daily rising into favour, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. With these supplies, joined to an army of thirty-five thousand men, Henry entered Normandy, according to his agreement with Eliza-

A. D. 1591.

4 Daniel, tome ix.—Thuan. lib. xcix.—Davila, lib. xi.

beth, and formed the siege of Rouen. The place made an obstinate resistance; but, as the catholic forces were unable to keep the field, it must soon have been obliged to surrender, if an unexpected event had not procured it relief. The duke of Parma again left his government; and, advancing to Rouen with rapid marches, again disappointed Henry, by obliging him to raise the siege. The gallant monarch, burning with revenge, again boldly offered battle, and pursued the foe; but the duke, by a wonderful piece of generalship, and in spite of the greatest obstacles, a second time made good his retreat to the Netherlands[5].

Henry was in some measure consoled for this disappointment, by hearing that Lesdiguieres had recovered Provence, chased the duke of Savoy over the mountains, and made incursions even to the gates of Turin; that the viscount de Turenne had vanquished and slain the mareschal of Lorrain; that Thammes had defeated the duke de Joyeuse in Languedoc, and killed two thousand men; that La Valette, the new governor of Provence, had retaken Antibes, and the Spaniards had been baffled in an attempt upon Bayonne[6].

A. D. 1592.

All things were now hastening to a crisis between the parties. The faction of Sixteen, which was entirely in the interest of Spain, its principal members being pensioners of Philip, had hanged the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the judges, for not condemning to death a man obnoxious to the junto, but against whom no crime was found. The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, afraid of being crushed by that faction, had caused four of the Sixteen to be executed in the same manner. The duke of Parma, on the part of Philip, pressed the duke of Mayenne to call an assembly of the states, in order to deliberate on the election of a king; and the Catho-

5 Davila, lib. xii. xiii.—Thuan. lib. ciii. 6 Id. ibid.

lics of Henry's party plainly intimated to him, that they expected he would now declare himself on the article of religion.

The king and the duke of Mayenne were equally sensible of the necessity of complying with these demands, though alike disagreeable to each. The states were convoked; and the duke of Parma, under pretence of supporting their resolutions, was ready to enter France with a powerful army, in order to forward the views of Philip. But the death of that great general at Arras, where he was assembling his forces, freed the duke of Mayenne from a dangerous rival, Henry from a formidable enemy, and perhaps France from becoming a province of Spain. Dec. 2.

The states, or more properly the heads of the Catholic faction, met at Paris; and the pope's legate proposed, that they should bind themselves by an oath, never to be reconciled to the king of Navarre, even though he should embrace the Catholic faith. This motion was opposed by the duke of Mayenne and the major part of the assembly, but supported by the Spanish faction; and as there was yet no appearance of Henry's changing his religion, the duke of Feria, Philip's ambassador, after attempting to gain the duke of Mayenne, by offering him a large sum of money and the sovereignty of Burgundy, boldly proposed, that the states should choose the infanta Isabella queen, as the nearest relative of Henry III.; and should name the archduke Albert, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage, king in her right. The most zealous of the Sixteen condemned this proposal; declaring, that they could never think of admitting at once two foreign sovereigns. The duke of Feria changed his ground. He proposed the infanta on condition that she should espouse a prince of France, including the house of Lorrain, the nomination being left to his catholic majesty; and at length he fixed on the young Jan. 26, 1593.

duke of Guise. Had this proposal preceded the other, Philip might perhaps have carried his point; but now the duke of Mayenne, unwilling to become dependent on his nephew, pretended to dispute the ambassador's power: and the parliament of Paris published a decree, declaring such a treaty contrary to the Salic law, which, being a fundamental principle of the government, could on no account be set aside [7].

While these disputes were agitated at Paris, Henry was pushing his military operations; but he was sensible, notwithstanding his successes, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himself master of his kingdom. The Catholics of his party grew daily more importunate to know his sentiments in regard to religious matters; and their jealousy on this point seemed to increase, in proportion as he approached to the full possession of his throne. Though a Protestant, he was no bigot to his sect; he considered theological differences as subordinate to the public good; and therefore ordered the divines of the two religions to hold conferences, that he might be able to take, with greater decency, that step which the security of his crown, and the happiness of his subjects, now made necessary.

In these conferences, if we may credit the celebrated marquis de Rosni (afterwards duke of Sully, and prime minister to Henry), the protestant divines even allowed themselves to be worsted, in order to furnish the king with a better pretext for embracing that religion which it was so much his interest to adopt. But, however that might be, it is certain, that the more moderate Protestants, and Rosni among others, were convinced of the necessity of such a step; and that Henry, soon after the taking of Dreux, solemnly made his abjuration at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges [8].

July 52.

7 Davila, lib. xiii.—Henault, tome ii.

8 Id. ibid. Nothing can more strongly demonstrate the propriety of such a

This measure however, though highly agreeable to the majority of the French nation, was not immediately followed by those beneficial consequences which were expected from it. The more zealous Catholics suspected Henry's sincerity: they considered his abjuration merely as a device to deceive them; and, as the personal safety of many, who had distinguished themselves by their violence, was concerned in obstructing his progress, they had recourse to their former expedient of assassination, in which they were encouraged by their priests. Several attempts were made against the king's life. The zealous Huguenots, on the other hand, became more diffident of Henry's intentions towards their sect; and his protestant allies, particularly the queen of England, expressed great indignation at this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the confederate Romanists and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, Elizabeth at last admitted his apologies. She continued her supplies of men and money: and time soon produced a wonderful alteration in the affairs of the French monarch, and evinced the wisdom of the step which he had taken, though not entirely conformable to the laws of honour, and consequently a reproach on his private character.

The marquis de Vitri, governor of Meaux, was the first man of rank who showed the example of a return to duty. He had often solicited the duke of Mayenne, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but receiving no satisfaction from that nobleman, he resolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He ordered

measure, than the reflections of Davila, a living and intelligent observer of the times. "The king's conversion," says he, "was certainly the most powerful remedy "that could be applied to the dangerous disease of the nation. But the truce by "which it was preceded did also dispose men's minds for the working of so whole-"some a medicine; for the people on both sides having begun to taste the security "and the benefits that result from concord, in a season when harvest and vintage "made them more sensible of the happiness, they fell so in love with it, that it was "afterwards more easy to incline them to a desire of peace, and a willing obedience "under their lawful prince." *Hist.* lib. xiv.

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the garrison to evacuate the town; and having assembled the magistrates, delivered to them the keys. "Gentle-"men," said he, "I scorn to steal an advantage, or make "my fortune at other men's expense. I am going to pay "my allegiance to the king, and leave it in your power "to act as you please." The magistrates, after a short deliberation, agreed to send a deputation to Henry, to make their submissions. The deputies were so confounded at their audience, that they were incapable of speech, and threw themselves at the king's feet. Having viewed them for some moments in that condition, Henry burst into tears; and lifting them up, said, "Come not as enemies "to crave forgiveness, but as children to a father always "willing to receive you with open arms [9]."

The popularity acquired by this reception greatly promoted the royal cause. Henry was solemnly crowned at Chartres; and every thing seemed to promise a speedy pacification. La Chastre delivered up the provinces of Orléanois and Berri, of which he was governor, and D'Alaincourt the city of Pontoise; the duke of Mayenne retired from Paris; and the count de Brisac, who commanded the French garrison (for there was also a Spanish one), privately admitted the king into his capital, of which he took possession almost without shedding blood. Villars, who had so gallantly defended Rouen, surrendered that city on conditions; and many other towns either offered terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke d'Elbœuf, who had seised the government of Poictou, declared for the king. The young duke of Guise also made his peace with Henry. Baligny, who held the principality of Cambray, submitted; and the mareschal d'Aumont, with the assistance of an English fleet and army, reduced Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns guarded by the Spanish forces, while the king in person besieged and took Laon. On

A.D. 1594.

9 *Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. de France*, tome ii.

this advantage Amiens, and a great part of Picardy, acknowledged his sway[10].

In the midst of these successes, Henry was on the point of perishing by the hand of a desperate assassin. John Chastel, a young fanatic, educated among the Jesuits, struck him on the mouth with a knife, while he was saluting one of his courtiers, in a chamber of the Louvre, and beat out one of his teeth. The blow was intended for the king's throat; but, fortunately, his stooping prevented it from striking that dangerous part. The assassin was seised, avowed his principles, and was put to death. On his examination, he confessed that he had frequently heard his ghostly preceptors say, that king-killing was lawful; and that, as Henry had not yet been absolved by the pope, he thought he might kill him with a safe conscience. Some writings to the same purpose were found in the possession of father Guiscard, who was condemned to suffer the punishment appointed for treason; and all the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom, by a decree of the parliament of Paris[11].

Dec. 27.

Amidst these incidents, war was still carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. The states not only continued to maintain the struggle for liberty, but even rose superior to the power of Spain. Prince Maurice surprised Breda; and, by the assistance of the English forces, under sir Francis Vere, he took Gertruydenberg and Groningen, after two of the most obstinate and best-conducted sieges recorded in history. Count Mansfeld, an able and experienced officer, who had succeeded the duke of Parma in the chief command, beheld the reduction of the first with an army superior to that of the prince, without being able to force his lines; and Verdugo, the Spanish general, durst not attempt the relief of the second, though the garrison made a gallant defence[12].

10 Davila.—Mezeray.—Dupleix. 11 Davila, lib. xiv.—Henault, tome ii.

12 Bentivoglio.—Grot. *Ann.*

The progress of the English and Dutch, however, did not prevent the archduke Ernest, now governor of the Low Countries, from sending ten thousand men to lay waste the frontier of France; and Henry, who had been long engaged in hostilities with Philip, was provoked by this fresh insult, as well as encouraged by his late success, and that of the states, to declare war against Spain. He led an army into Burgundy; expelled the Spaniards from that province; obliged the duke of Mayenne to sue for an accommodation; and received absolution from the pope.

A.D. 1595.

But while this great prince, rendered too confident by good fortune, was employed in a wild and fruitless expedition into Franche-Comté, in compliance with the ambition of his mistress, the fair Gabrielle d'Estrées, who wished to procure a principality for her son Cæsar, a Spanish army, under the command of the conde de Fuentes, reduced Dourlens, Catelet, and Cambray. To counterbalance these losses, the duke of Guise surprised Marseilles; and Henry concluded his negotiation with the duke of Mayenne, who, charmed with the generous reception he met with on his submission, continued ever after firmly attached to the king's person and government.

A.D. 1596.

When informed of the success of the duke of Guise, Henry was so elate, that he exclaimed with transport, "Then I am at last a king[13]!" His joy, however, was of a short duration. The archduke Albert, who had succeeded on the death of his brother to the government of the Netherlands, sent an army to besiege Calais; and, as that fortress was not in a proper state of defence, the garrison was obliged to surrender, before the king could march with a sufficient force to its relief.

This unfortunate event was soon followed by another. While Henry was in the utmost distress for the loss of

13 Dupleix, tome v.

Calais, which fanned the dying ashes of the league,—while he was harassed by the complaints of the Huguenots, and chagrined at the extravagant demands of the dukes of Savoy and Mercœur, who were still in arms against him,—he received intelligence that Portocarrero, the Spanish governor of Dourlens, had made himself master of Amiens by surprise [14].

The king of France was now ready to sink under the weight of his misfortunes. His finances were so diminished in purchasing the allegiance of his rebellious subjects, or in reducing them to their duty, that he was utterly incapable of any new effort: he was not even able to pay the few troops in his service. He had already assembled his nobles, and explicitly informed them of his necessities; but they, impoverished also by the civil wars, seemed little disposed to assist him, though he addressed them in the most engaging language. "I have not called "you together," said he, "as my predecessors were "wont, to oblige you blindly to obey my will: I have as-"sembled you to receive your counsels; to listen to "them, to follow them, and to put myself entirely under "your direction [15]."

"Give me an army," cried he, on another occasion, "and I will cheerfully venture my life for the state!"—But the means of furnishing *bread* for that army, as he pathetically complained, were not in his power.

Henry, however, was happily extricated out of all his difficulties by the fertile genius of his faithful servant, the marquis de Rosni, whom he appointed superintendant of the finances. That able minister, by loans upon the king's faith, by sums advanced upon the revenues, and other necessary expedients, enabled him to raise, in a short time, an army of more than twenty thousand men. With this army, the best appointed he had ever led into the field,

14 Cayet, tome iii. 15 *Mém. de Sully*, tome i.

A. D. 1597. and a body of English auxiliaries, Henry marched to Amiens, in order to attempt the recovery of that important place. "I will go," said he, on undertaking this arduous enterprise, "and act the king of Na-"varre: I have acted the king of France long enough." The Spanish garrison, composed of choice troops, and commanded by experienced officers, made an obstinate defence, and allowed the archduke time to march to its relief; but Albert, not being able to force the lines of the besiegers, though his army nearly consisted of twenty-five thousand veterans, retired to Arras, and Amiens surrendered to the French monarch [16].

Henry returned in triumph to Paris, where he was received with every possible mark of loyalty and respect; and after convincing all parties, that the happiness of his people was his supreme wish, and the object of all his enterprises, he marched against the duke of Mercœur, who still held part of Bretagne. Surprised at this unexpected

A. D. 1598. visit, and deserted by the nobility of the duchy, who hastened to make their peace with the king, the duke gave himself up for lost. But a fortunate expedient saved him. He offered the hand of his only daughter, with the duchies of Estampes, Penthievre, and Mercœur, to Henry's natural son Cæsar; and the king, glad of such an opportunity of gratifying the ambition of his mistress, readily agreed to the proposal [17].

Henry now saw himself in full possession of his kingdom: the league was entirely dissolved; and the Catholics in general seemed satisfied with his public profession of their religion. The Huguenots alone, his original friends, gave him uneasiness. They had frequently, since the king's abjuration of their faith, and his solemn reconciliation with the see of Rome, expressed apprehensions on account of their religion. Henry soon made them easy on

16 Dupleix.—Davila.—Mezeray.

17 Davila, lib. xv.—*Mémoires de Sully*, tome ii.

that point. He assembled the heads of the party at Nantes; and from motives of policy, as well as of gratitude and tenderness, passed the famous Edict bearing date from that place, and which granted them every thing that they reasonably could desire. It not only secured to them the free exercise of their religion, but a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of trust, profit, and honour [18].

During these transactions in France, the allies were well employed in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice and sir Francis Vere obtained at Tournhout, in 1597, a complete victory over the Spaniards; in consequence of which that place immediately surrendered, and a great number of others were reduced before the close of the campaign.

Nor were the enemies of Spain less successful in other quarters. Besides the naval armaments, which Elizabeth sent to annoy the Spaniards in the West Indies, and to obstruct their trade at home, a strong force was dispatched to Cadiz, where Philip was making vast preparations for a new invasion of England. The combined English and Dutch fleet, under lord Effingham, attacked the Spanish ships and galleys in the bay; and, after an obstinate engagement, obliged them all either to surrender, retire beneath their forts, or run ashore. The earl of Essex, who commanded the land forces, then attacked the city, and reduced it with ease. Its spoils were considerable; but the resolution which the Spanish admiral took, of setting fire to a large fleet of merchant ships, richly laden, in the port, deprived the conquerors of a far more valuable booty. The loss, however, sustained by the Spaniards, was not diminished by that expedient, and is computed at twenty millions of ducats [19].

Age and infirmities, with so many disasters and disappointments, had now almost broken the lofty and obstinate spirit of Philip. He began to moderate his views, and of-

18 Thuan.—Mezeray.—Varillas. 19 Birch's *Mem.* vol. ii.

fered peace on terms not very high or unreasonable; but, as he refused to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces, they would not negotiate with him, and Elizabeth came to the same resolution, on their account.

Henry's situation did not enable him to behave with equal firmness. To France, long torn by civil dissensions, peace was particularly necessary. Philip knew it, and offered advantageous conditions to Henry, that he might be enabled, by diminishing the number of his enemies, to act with greater vigour against the Dutch. The French monarch, however, before he treated with the king of Spain, sent ambassadors to Elizabeth and the states, to facilitate a general agreement. Both powers remonstrated against such a measure, unless the independence of the states should be made its basis. Henry pleaded his necessity of negotiating; and although they blamed the step which they saw he was determined to take, they were sensible of the justice of his arguments. A separate peace was accordingly concluded, between France and Spain, at Vervins[20]; by which Henry recovered possession of all the places seized by Philip during the civil wars, and procured to himself, what he had long ardently desired, leisure to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom; to cultivate the arts of peace (to which his genius was no less turned than to those of war), and to contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his people.

But before we take a view of the flourishing state of France, under the equitable government of this great and good prince, and the wise administration of Sully, or of England during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, I must carry forward the contest between Spain and the United Provinces.

20 Davila, lib. xv.—Mezeray, tome vi.

LETTER LXXIII.

History of Spain and the Low Countries, from the Peace of Vervins, to the Truce in 1609, when the Freedom of the United Provinces was acknowledged.

PEACE had not long been concluded between France and Spain, when a new treaty was adjusted between England and the United Provinces, with a view of prosecuting the war more vigorously against Philip. The states, afraid of being deserted by Elizabeth, submitted to what terms she was pleased to require of them. They agreed to diminish their debt, which amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, by remitting considerable sums annually; to pay the English troops in the Low Countries; and to maintain, at their own expense, the garrisons of the cautionary towns, while England should continue the war against Spain [1]. A. D. 1598.

Soon after this negotiation was completed, Philip II., its chief object, breathed his last at Madrid; leaving behind him the character of a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive, and inexorable tyrant. With great talents for government, he failed to obtain the reputation of a great prince; because, with a perfect knowledge of mankind, and the most extensive power of benefiting them, he became the great destroyer of his species, and the chief instrument of human misery. His head fitted him for the throne of Spain, and his indefatigable application for the sovereignty of both Indies; but his heart, and his habit of thinking, only for the office of grand inquisitor. Hence he was long the terror, but never the admiration, of Europe. Sept. 13.

Nor was Philip's character more amiable or estimable

1 Camd. Ann.—Thuan. Hist.

in private than in public life. Besides other crimes of a domestic nature, he was accused by William prince of Orange, in the face of all Europe, and seemingly with justice, of having sacrificed his own son, don Carlos, to his jealous ambition; and of having poisoned his third wife, Isabella of France, that he might marry Anne of Austria, his niece [2]. The particulars of the death of Carlos are sufficiently curious to merit attention. That young prince had sometimes taken the liberty to censure the measures of his father's government with regard to the Netherlands, and was even suspected of a design of putting himself at the head of the insurgents, in order to prevent the utter ruin of his future subjects, for whose sufferings he had often expressed his compassion. In consequence of this suspicion he was put under confinement; and although several princes interceded for his release, his father was inexorable. The inquisition, through the influence of the king, who on all great occasions consulted the members of that tribunal, passed sentence against the unhappy Carlos; and the inhuman and unnatural Philip, under cover of that sentence, ordered poison, which proved effectual in a few hours, to be administered to his son and heir of empire [3].

No European prince ever possessed such vast resources as Philip II. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he enjoyed the whole East-Indian commerce, and reaped the richest harvest of the American mines. But his prodigious armaments, his intrigues in France and in England, and his long and expensive wars in the Low Countries, exhausted his treasures, and enriched those whom he sought to subdue; while the Spaniards, dazzled with the sight of the precious metals, and transported by the idea of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and

2 See the *Manifesto* of the prince of Orange, in answer to Philip's *Proscription*.
3 Compare Thuanus, lib. xliii. with Strada, lib. vii.

were obliged to depend on their more industrious neighbours for the luxuries as well as the necessaries of life. Spain, once a rich and fertile kingdom, became only the mint of Europe. Its wedges and ingots were no sooner coined than called for; and were often mortgaged before their arrival, as the price of labour and ingenuity. The state was enfeebled, the country rendered sterile, and the people poor and miserable.

The condition of the United Provinces was in all respects the reverse of Spain. They owed every thing to their industry; by which a country naturally barren was rendered fertile, even while it was the scene of war. Manufactures were carried on with vigour, and commerce was extended to all the quarters of the globe. The republic had become powerful, and the people rich, in spite of every effort to enslave and oppress them. Conscious of this, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, transferred to his daughter Isabella, contracted to the archduke Albert, the sovereignty of the Low Countries.

Philip died before the celebration of the marriage; but his son Philip III., a virtuous though a weak prince, punctually executed the contract; and Albert, after taking possession of the sovereignty according to the necessary forms, wrote to the states of the United Provinces, entreating them not to refuse submission to their natural princes, who would govern them with lenity, indulgence, and affection.

The states returned no answer to the archduke's letter. They were now determined to complete that independence for which they had so long struggled. But, even if their purpose had been less firm, there was a clause in the

contract which would have produced the same resolution. It provided, that, if the infanta should leave no issue, all the provinces of the Low Countries should return to the crown of Spain; and, as there was little probability of her having offspring, the states saw their danger, and avoided it, by refusing to listen to any terms of submission [4].

The first material step taken by Albert and Isabella for reducing their revolted subjects to obedience, was the promulgation of an edict, in concert with Philip III., precluding the United Provinces from all intercourse with the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, or with the Spanish Netherlands. This was a severe blow to the commerce of the states. They had hitherto, singular as it may seem, been allowed to prosecute an open trade with all the Spanish dominions in Europe, and had drawn much of their wealth from that source, as well as increased by it their naval power. An idea of general advantage only could have induced Philip II. to permit such a traffic; and an experience of its balance being in favour of the republic, as will always be the case between industrious and indolent nations, induced his son to prohibit it under the name of indulgence. But the interdict was issued too late effectually to answer its end. The Dutch, already strong by sea, sent out a fleet to cruise upon the Spaniards; and, to compensate the restraint upon their home trade, they turned their views toward India, where they attacked the Spaniards and Portuguese, and at length monopolised the most lucrative branch of that important commerce.

A. D. 1599.

Meanwhile the war was continued with spirit in the Low Countries. Besides several bodies of Germans and Swiss, the states took into their service two thousand French veterans, disbanded by Henry IV. on the conclusion of the peace of Vervins: and that prince generously supplied the republic with money, under pretence of pay-

4 Meteren.—Bentivoglio.

ing his debts. The archduke's forces were, at the same time, much augmented by fresh levies from Spain, Italy, and Germany. Each party seemed formidable to the other, yet both were eager for the combat; and several towns having been taken, many gallantly assaulted, and no less gallantly defended on both sides, the two armies came to a general engagement at Nieuport, near Ostend[5]. The field was obstinately disputed for three hours. The allies began the battle with incredible intrepidity; and the Spanish veterans, who composed the enemy's van, received the shock with great firmness. The conflict was terrible. At length the Spaniards gave ground; but they soon returned to the charge. Again they were repulsed, and, in the issue, utterly broken and routed, with the loss of five thousand men, chiefly by the valour of the English auxiliaries under sir Francis Vere, who led the van of the confederates. We must not, however, with some of our too warm countrymen, ascribe the victory solely to English prowess. A share of the honour, at least, ought to be allowed to the military skill of prince Maurice; to a body of Swiss, immediately under his command, that supported the English troops; and to the courage of the numerous volunteers, who had come from all parts of Europe to study the art of war under so able and experienced a general, and who strove to outdo each other in daring acts of heroism.

A. D. 1600.

This victory was of the utmost importance to the United Provinces, as the defeat of their army, in the present crisis, would in all probability have been followed by the loss of their liberties, and their final ruin as an independent state; but its consequences otherwise were very inconsiderable. Prince Maurice either mis-spent his time after the battle, or his troops, as he affirmed, were so exhausted with fatigue, as not to be fit for any new enterprise, till Albert was again ready to take the field with a superior army.

5 Grot. lib. ix.—Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vi.

Overtures of peace were renewed, and rejected by the states. The allies formed the siege of Rhinberg, and the archduke that of Ostend. Rhinberg was reduced, but Maurice did not think his strength sufficient to attempt the relief of Ostend.

A.D. 1601.

The siege of that important place was vigorously conducted by the archduke in person, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army. The brave resistance which he met with astonished but did not discourage him. His heart was set on the reduction of Ostend. All the resources of war were exhausted; torrents of blood were shed, but neither side was dispirited; because both received constant supplies, the one by sea, the other from the neighbouring country. New batteries were very frequently raised, and assaults were multiplied without effect. The garrison, commanded by sir Francis Vere, who had gallantly thrown himself into the town in the face of the enemy, repelled all the attempts of the Spaniards with the greatest intrepidity; and at length obliged Albert to turn the siege into a kind of blockade, and commit the command to Rivas, one of his generals, while he himself went to Ghent, in order to concert new measures for accomplishing his favourite enterprise.

A.D. 1602.

The states embraced this opportunity of changing the garrison of Ostend, worn out and emaciated with continual fatigue and watching; and, as the communication by sea was open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison, supplied with every necessary, took charge of the town, under the command of colonel Dorp, a Dutchman, colonel Edmunds, a Scotchman, and Hertain, a Frenchman; while sir Francis Vere, with the former garrison, joined the army under prince Maurice.

The army before Ostend, composed of Flemings and Spaniards, was reinforced with eight thousand Italians, under the marquis of Spinola, an officer of great military talents, to whom Albert wisely committed the conduct of

the siege, after the ineffectual efforts of Rivas. Spinola showed, that no fortification, however strong, is impregnable to a skilful engineer, furnished with the necessary force. Ostend was reduced to a heap of ruins; and the besiegers were making preparations for the grand assault, when the governor offered to capitulate. Spinola granted the garrison honourable terms[6]. A.D. 1604.

During this memorable siege, which was protracted beyond three years, and cost the king of Spain and the archduke the lives of above seventy thousand brave soldiers, prince Maurice made himself master of Rimbach, Grave, and Sluys, acquisitions which more than balanced the loss of Ostend; and Albert, by employing all his strength against the place, was prevented, during three campaigns, from entering the United Provinces. The Dutch did not neglect the occasion, which that interval of security afforded them, to push their trade and manufactures. Every nerve was strained in labour, and every talent in ingenuity. Commerce, both foreign and domestic, flourished; Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained; and the East-India company, that grand pillar of the Republic, was established[7].

But, as a counterpoise to these advantages, the states had lost the alliance of England, in consequence of the death of Elizabeth. James I., her successor, showed no inclination to engage in hostilities with Spain; and concluded, soon after his accession, a treaty with that court. Through the intercession of Henry IV., however, he agreed to supply the states secretly with money: and what is very remarkable as well as honourable, it appears that James, in his treaty with Spain, had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the United Provinces[8].

6 Grot. lib xiii.—Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vii. 7 Le Clerc, lib. vii.
8 Winwood's *State Papers*, vol. ii.

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The republic, at present, urgently required support. Philip III., now sensible that the infanta could have no issue, and consequently that the Netherlands must revert to the crown of Spain, adopted the resolution of carrying on the war against the revolted provinces with redoubled vigour. Large levies were made for that purpose; great sums were remitted to the Low Countries; and Spinola was declared commander-in-chief of the Spanish and Italian forces.

A. D. 1605.

The states saw their danger, and endeavoured to provide against it. They authorised prince Maurice to augment his army; they recruited their garrisons, improved their fortifications, and prepared for the most vigorous resistance. Spinola expected it, but was not discouraged: and his success was rapid for two campaigns, in spite of all the efforts of Maurice. But although he had made himself master of many important places, he had yet made no impression on the body of the republic; and three hundred thousand doubloons a month, the common expense of the army, appeared a sum too large for the Spanish treasury long to disburse, and a drain which not even the mines of Mexico and Peru could supply. His troops mutinied for want of pay. He became sensible of the impracticability of his undertaking, and delivered it as his opinion, that it was more adviseable to enjoy the ten provinces in peace and security, than to risque the loss of the whole Netherlands in pursuit of the other seven, and ruin Spain by a hazardous attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion[9].

A. D. 1606.

The court of Madrid was already convinced of the necessity of an accommodation; the archduke earnestly wished for peace; and the sentiments of the general had great

9 Bentivoglio.

influence both on the Spanish and Flemish councils. If the duke of Parma had failed to reduce the seven provinces, and Spinola gave up the attempt, who, it was asked, could hope to subdue them?—As there was no answering such a question, it was agreed, though not without many scruples, to negotiate with the Dutch republic as an independent state. A suspension of arms accordingly took place; conferences were opened; and, after numberless obstructions and delays, interposed by the Orange faction, whose interest it was to continue the war, a truce was concluded at the Hague for twelve years, through the mediation of France and England[10]. This treaty secured to the United Provinces all their acquisitions, a freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and the archduke, on the same footing with other foreign nations, and the full enjoyment of those civil and religious liberties for which they had so gloriously struggled[11].

A. D. 1607.

A. D. 1609.

Scarcely had the court of Spain finished one civil war, occasioned by persecution, when it plunged into another. Philip III., at the instigation of the inquisition, and by the advice of his minister, the duke of Lerma, no less weak than himself, issued an edict, ordering all the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, on pain of death. Those remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were chiefly employed in commerce and agriculture; and the principal reason assigned for this barbarous decree was, that they were still Mohammedans in their hearts, though they conformed outwardly to the Christian worship, and therefore might corrupt the true faith, as well as disturb the peace of the state. Persecution prompted them to undertake what they had hitherto shown no disposition to attempt. They chose

10 Grotius.—Bentivoglio.—Winwood. 11 Grot. lib. xvii.

A. D. 1611. themselves a king, and endeavoured to oppose the execution of the royal mandate; but being almos' wholly unprovided with arms, they were soon obliged to submit, and were all banished[12].

By this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost near a million of industrious inhabitants[13]; and as that kingdom was already depopulated by long and bloody foreign wars, by repeated emigrations to the New World, and enervated by luxury, it now sunk into a state of languor, out of which it has never since fully recovered. The remembrance of its former strength, however, still enabled it to inspire terror; and associations were formed for restraining the exorbitant power of Spain, after Spain had ceased to be powerful.

12 Fonseca, *Traycion de los Morescos.*
13 Geddes, *Hist. Expuls. Moresc.*

LETTER LXXIV.

The domestic History of England, from the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, *to the Death of Elizabeth, with some Particulars of Scotland and Ireland.*

THE execution of the queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spanish armada, freed Elizabeth from all apprehensions for the safety of her crown. What part she took in the affairs of France and of the United Provinces, and what attempts she made by naval armaments to annoy the Catholic king, we have already seen. We must now, my dear Philip, take a view of her domestic policy, and her domestic troubles; and of her transactions with Scotland and Ireland, from this great æra of her guilt

A. D. 1588.

and her glory to that of her death, which left vacant the throne of England to the house of Stuart.

The leading characteristics of Elizabeth's administration were economy and vigour. By a strict attention to the first, she was able to maintain a magnificent court, and to support the persecuted Protestants in France and the Low Countries, without oppressing her people, or involving the crown in debt; and, by a spirited exertion of the second, she humbled the pride of Spain, and gave stability to her throne, in spite of all the machinations of her enemies. After informing her parliament of the necessity of continuing the war against Philip, and how little she dreaded the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort than that of his Invincible Armada, she concluded thus:—"I am informed, that "when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the "sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the "country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance—but I swear unto you, by God! if I knew those "persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, "I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so "urgent a cause[1]."

A. D. 1593.

Elizabeth's frugality in the administration of her realm seems less, however, to have proceeded from lenity to her people than from a fear of bringing herself under the power of the commons by the necessity of soliciting larger supplies, and thereby endangering her royal prerogative, of which she was always remarkably jealous, and which she exercised with a high hand. Numerous instances of this occur during her reign. Besides erecting the Court of High Commission, which was invested with almost inquisitorial powers, and supporting the arbitrary decrees of the Star-Chamber, she granted to her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies, which put severe restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts, and

1 D'Ewes' *Journal of Parliament.*

enabled those who possessed them to raise commodities to what price they pleased. Salt, in particular, was raised from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings, and many other articles in proportion. Almost all the necessaries of life were thus monopolised; which made a certain member ask with a sneer, when the list was read over in the house, "Is not bread among the number[2]?"

These grievances were frequently complained of in parliament, more especially by the *Puritans;* who, as the name imports, affected extraordinary purity, maintaining that the church of England was not sufficiently purged from the errors of popery: and who carried into their political speculations the same bold spirit that dictated their theological opinions. But such complaints were made at the peril of the members, who were frequently committed to custody for their freedom of speech; and all motions to remove those enormous grievances were suppressed, as attempts to invade the royal prerogative. The queen, by messages to the house, repeatedly admonished the commons "not to meddle with what nowise belonged to them "(matters of state or religion), and what did not lie within "the compass of their understanding;" and she warned them, "since neither her commands nor the example of "their wiser brethren (those devoted to the court) could "reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous "folly, that some other species of correction must be "found for them[3]."

These messages were patiently received by the majority of the house; and it was even asserted, "that the royal "prerogative was not to be canvassed, disputed, or examined, and did not even admit of any limitation; that "absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, "were a species of divinity; that it was in vain to attempt "tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes, since, by "her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at plea-

2 D'Ewes. 3 D'Ewes.

"sure!"—But the Puritans, who alone possessed any just sentiments of freedom, and who employed all their industry to be elected into parliament, still hazarded the utmost indignation of Elizabeth, in vindicating the natural rights of mankind. They continued to keep alive that precious spark of liberty which they had rekindled; and which, burning more fiercely from confinement, broke out into a blaze under the two succeeding reigns, and, agitated but not smothered by opposition, consumed the church and monarchy; from whose ashes, like the fabled phœnix, singly to arrest the admiration of ages, sprang our present glorious and happy constitution.

Among the subjects which Elizabeth prohibited the parliament from taking into consideration, was the succession to the crown. But, as all danger from a rival claim had expired with the queen of Scots, a motion was made by Peter Wentworth, a puritan, for petitioning her majesty to fix the succession; which, though in itself sufficiently respectful, incensed the queen to such a degree, that she committed Wentworth to the Tower, and sent all the members who seconded him to the Fleet. Her malignity against Mary seems to have settled upon her son James; for she not only continued to avoid acknowledging him as her successor, though a peaceable and unaspiring prince, but refused to assist him in suppressing a conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen, formed in conjunction with the king of Spain, their common enemy[5]. She endeavoured to keep him in perpetual dependence, by bribing his ministers, or fomenting discontents among his subjects; and she appears to have had some concern in the conspiracy of the earl of Gowrie, for seising his person, though not, as some suppose, with a view of taking away his life.

A considerable share of her attention was devoted to the affairs of Ireland, where the English sovereignty had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes

4 D'Ewes. 5 Spotswood.

and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to resist; but, as no durable force was kept on foot to retain them in submission, they quickly relapsed into their former state of barbarous independence. Other reasons conspired to prevent a cordial union. The small army which was maintained in Ireland not being regularly paid, the officers were obliged to give their soldiers the privilege of free quarters upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered; and that, together with the old opposition of manners, laws, and interests, was now heightened by religious animosity, the Irish being still Catholics, and in a great measure savages[6].

The romantic and impolitic project of the English princes for subduing France occasioned this inattention to the affairs of Ireland; a conquest pregnant with solid advantages. Elizabeth early saw the importance of that island, and took several measures for reducing it to a state of order and submission. Besides furnishing her deputies, or governors of Ireland, with a greater force, she founded a university in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that capital and kingdom, and of civilising the barbarous manners of the people[7]. But unhappily sir John Perrot, in 1585, being then lord deputy, put arms into the hands of the inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the English government, to repress the incursions of the Scots of the western isles; and Philip II. having, about the same time, engaged many of the Irish gentry to serve in his armies in the Low Countries, Ireland, thus provided both with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war, and became more formidable to England.

Hugh O'Neale, the head of a potent clan, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but preferring

6 Spenser's *Account of Ireland*. 7 Sir John Davies.—Camden.

the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, he secretly fomented the discontents of his countrymen, and formed the project of rendering himself independent. Trusting, however, to the influence of his deceitful oaths and protestations, as he was not yet sufficiently prepared, he surrendered himself into the hands of sir William Russel, who had been appointed the queen's deputy in Ireland; and being dismissed, in consequence of these protestations of his pacific disposition, and retiring into his own district, he embraced the daring resolution of rising in open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity and imprudence of his enemies. His success exceeded his most sanguine hopes. After amusing sir John Norris, sent over to reduce him to obedience, with treacherous promises and proposals of accommodation, by means of which the war was protracted for some years, he defeated the English army under sir Henry Bagnal, who was left dead on the field, together with fifteen hundred men [8].

A.D. 1594.

A.D. 1598.

This victory, which greatly animated the courage of the Irish, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who now assumed the name of Deliverer of his country, made Elizabeth sensible of the necessity of pushing the war by vigorous measures. She conferred the lieutenancy of Ireland, at his own request, on her reigning favourite the earl of Essex, ever ambitious of military fame; invested him with powers almost unlimited, and to ensure success against the rebels, she levied an army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse. But the earl, unacquainted with the country, and misled by interested counsels, disappointed the expectations of the queen and the nation; and, fearing the total alienation of her affections, by the artifices of his enemies, he hastened to England, in repugnance to her express order, and

A.D. 1599.

8 Sir John Davies.—Camden.

arrived at court before any one was apprised of his intentions[9].

The unexpected appearance of her favourite, whose impatience carried him to her bed-chamber, where he threw himself at her feet, and kissed her hand, at first disarmed the resentment of Elizabeth. She was incapable, in that moment of soft surprise, of treating him with severity: hence he was induced to say, on retiring, he thanked God, that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home[10].

When Elizabeth, however, had leisure for recollection, her displeasure returned. All the earl's faults again occurred to her mind; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty and imperious spirit, which, presuming on her partiality and indulgence, had ventured to disregard her instructions, and disobey her commands. She ordered him to be confined; and by a decree of the privy council, he was deprived of all his employments, except that of master of the horse, and sentenced to remain a prisoner during her majesty's pleasure.

A.D. 1600.

Humbled by this sentence, but still trusting to the queen's tenderness, Essex wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hand, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she should condescend to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment. He had now resolved, he added, to make amends for his past errors; to retire into a rural solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my "dwelling be with the beasts of the field, let me eat grass "as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall "please the queen to restore me to my understanding[11]."

9 Winwood, vol. i. 10 *Letters of the Sydneys*, vol. ii.
11 Camden.

Elizabeth, who had always declared to the world, and even to Essex himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him, was much pleased with these sentiments; and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions. Every one expected that he would soon be restored to his former degree of credit and favour, and, as is usual in reconciliations proceeding from tenderness, that he would even acquire an additional ascendency over his fond mistress. But his enemies, by whom she was continually surrounded, found means to persuade the queen, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued; and, as a farther trial of his submission, she refused to renew a patent, which he possessed, for a monopoly of sweet wines. She even accompanied her refusal with an insult. "An ungo-"vernable beast," added she, "must be stinted in its "provender [12]."

Essex, who had with difficulty restrained his proud heart so long, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining, from this fresh instance of severity, that the queen had become inexorable, gave full rein to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Already high in the public favour, he practised anew every art of popularity. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech; particularly with regard to the queen's person, which was still an object of her vanity, and on which she allowed herself to be complimented, though approaching to her seventieth year. And what was, if possible, still more mortifying to Elizabeth, he made secret applications to the king of Scotland, offering to extort an immediate declaration in favour of his succession [13].

But James, although sufficiently desirous of securing the reversion of the crown of England, and though he had negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to procure support to his hereditary title, did not approve the

12 Camden. 13 Birch's *Mem.* vol. ii.

violent means which Essex proposed to employ for that end. His natural timidity disinclined him to any bold expedient; and he was afraid, if the attempt should fail, that Elizabeth might be induced to take some extraordinary step to his prejudice. Essex, however, continued to make use of that prince's claim, as a colour for his rebellious projects. In a select council of malcontents, it was resolved that the palace should be seised, and the queen obliged to remove all the earl's enemies, call a parliament, and settle the succession, together with a new plan of government[14].

Elizabeth had some intimation of these desperate resolutions. Essex was summoned to attend the council; but he received a private note, which warned him to provide for his safety. He concluded that his conspiracy was fully discovered; excused himself to the council, on pretence of indisposition; and, as he judged it impracticable to seise the palace without greater preparations, he sallied forth, at the head of about two hundred followers, and attempted to raise the city. But the citizens, though attached to his person, showed no disposition to join him. In vain did he tell them, that his life was in danger, and that England was sold to the Spaniards. They flocked about him in amazement, but remained silent and inactive: and, despairing of success, he retreated with difficulty to his own house. There he seemed determined to defend himself to extremity, and rather to die, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than ignominiously fall by the hands of the executioner; but, after some parley, his resolution failed him, and he surrendered at discretion.

A.D. 1601.

Orders were immediately given for the trial of the earl and his chief associates. Their guilt was too notorious to be doubted; and sentence was pronounced accordingly. The queen, who had behaved with the utmost

14 Camden.

composure during the insurrection, now appeared all agitation and irresolution. The unhappy condition of the condemned peer recalled her fondness: resentment and affection, the care of her own safety, and concern for her favourite, alternately took possession of her bosom. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it: she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. She waited impatiently for the intercession of a friend, to whose solicitations she might yield that forgiveness, which of herself she was ashamed to grant. No such friend appeared; and Elizabeth, imagining that this ungrateful neglect proceeded from the earl's haughtiness—from a pride of spirit, which disdained to solicit her clemency—at last permitted the sentence to be put in execution [15]. He was privately beheaded within the Tower, to preclude the danger of a popular insurrection.

Such was the untimely fate of Robert d'Evreux, earl of Essex. Brave, generous, affable, incapable of disguising his own sentiments or of misrepresenting those of others, he possessed the rare felicity of being at once the favourite of his sovereign and the darling of the people. But this fortunate circumstance proved the cause of his destruction. Confident of the queen's partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, had exposed him to her resentment, he hoped, by means of his popularity, to make her submit to his imperious will. But the attachment of the people to his person was not strong enough to shake their allegiance to the throne. He saw his mistake, though too late, and his death was accompanied with the most humiliating penitence. But his remorse unhappily took a wrong direction. It made him so ungenerous as to publish the name of every one to whom he had communicated his treasonable designs [16]. He debased his charac-

15 Birch.—Camden. 16 Winwood, vol. i.

ter, while he attempted to make his peace with Heaven; and, after all, it is much to be questioned, whatever he might imagine in those moments of affliction, whether in bewailing his crimes, he did not secretly mourn his disappointed ambition, and, in naming his accomplices, hope to appease his sovereign. But, however that might be, it is sincerely to be lamented that a person who possessed so many noble virtues should have involved, not only himself, but many of his friends in ruin.

The king of Scotland, who had a great regard for Essex, though he neglected his violent counsels, no sooner heard of his criminal and unsuccessful enterprise, than he sent two ambassadors to the court of England, in order to intercede for his life, as well as to congratulate the queen on her escape from the conspiracy. But these envoys arrived too late to execute the first part of their instructions, and therefore prudently concealed it. Elizabeth received them with great respect; and during their residence in England, they found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish to the Scottish succession. They even entered into a private correspondence with secretary Cecil (son of the late lord-treasurer Burghley), whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was uncontrolled [17]. That profound courtier thought it prudent to acquire, by this policy, the confidence of a prince, who might soon become his master: and James, having gained the man whose opposition he had hitherto chiefly feared, waited in perfect security till time should bring about that event which would open his way to the English throne [18].

While these incidents occurred in Britain, lord Montjoy, governor of Ireland, had restored the queen's authority in that kingdom. He defeated the rebels near Kinsale, though they were supported by a considerable body of Spaniards; and many of the chieftains, after skulking

17 Osborne. 18 Spotswood.

for some time in the woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to prescribe. Even Tyrone petitioned for terms; which being denied him, he was obliged to throw himself on the queen's mercy [19]. A. D. 1602.

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleasure from this fortunate conclusion of a war which had long disturbed her domestic peace. Though in her seventieth year, she had hitherto enjoyed a good state of health; but the infirmities of old age at length began to steal upon her, and with them that depression of spirits by which they are naturally accompanied. She had no offspring to inherit her extensive dominions; no son, no daughter, to whom she could transmit her sceptre, and the glories of her illustrious reign; no object of affection to alleviate her sorrows, or on whom she could repose her increasing cares. There lay the source of her most dangerous disease. A deep melancholy, which nothing could dissipate, and which rendered her dead to every human satisfaction, had settled on her mind. A.D. 1603.

I have already taken notice of the chief cause of the sacrifice of the earl of Essex. His criminal designs might have been forgiven, as the extravagancies of a great soul; but his want of confidence in the affection of an indulgent mistress, or his sullen contempt of her mercy, seemed unpardonable. His enemies knew it: they took advantage of it, to hasten his destruction; and his friends were afraid to interpose, lest they should be represented as abettors of his treason. But no sooner was the fatal blow struck, than, fear and envy being laid asleep, his merits were universally acknowledged. Even his sentiments of duty and loyalty were extolled. Elizabeth became sensible that she had been deceived, and lamented her rashness, in sacrificing a man on whose life her happiness depended. His memory became daily more dear to her, and she seldom

19 Camden.

mentioned his name without tears [20]. Other circumstances conspired to heighten her regret. Her courtiers, having no longer the superior favour of Essex to dread, grew less respectful and assiduous in their attendance, and all men desirous of preferment seemed to look forward to her successor. The people caught the temper of the court; the queen went abroad without the usual acclamations. And as a farther cause of uneasiness, she had been prevailed on, contrary to her most solemn declarations and resolutions, to pardon Tyrone, whose rebellion had given her so much trouble, and whom she regarded as the remote cause of her favourite's misfortunes. An unexpected discovery completed her sorrow, and rendered her melancholy fatal.

While Essex was in high favour with Elizabeth, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection, and accompanied it with a promise, that into whatever disgrace he might fall, or whatever prejudices she might be induced by his enemies to entertain against him, on producing that ring he might ensure forgiveness. This precious gift he had reserved for the final extremity. All his misfortunes had not been able to draw it from him; but, after his condemnation, he resolved to try its efficacy, and requested the countess of Nottingham to deliver it to the queen. The countess mentioned the affair to her husband, one of the earl's most implacable enemies, who persuaded her to act an atrocious part; neither to deliver the ring to the queen nor return it to the earl. Elizabeth, who had anxiously expected that last appeal to her tenderness, imputed an omission, occasioned by the countess's treachery, to the disdainful pride of her favourite; and she was chiefly induced, by the resentment arising from that idea, to sign the warrant for his execution [21].

Conscience discovered what it could not prevent. The countess of Nottingham, being on the verge of death, was

20 Birch's *Mem.* vol. ii. 21 Birch's *Memoirs*.

seised with remorse on account of her perfidy. She desired to see her sovereign, in order to reveal to her a secret, without disclosing which she could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, she presented the fatal ring, related the purpose for which she had received it, and begged forgiveness. All Elizabeth's affection returned, and all her rage was roused. "God may "forgive you," cried she, "but I never can!" shaking the dying countess in her bed, and rushing out of the room[22].

Few and miserable, after this discovery, were the days of Elizabeth. Her spirit left her, and existence itself seemed a burthen. She rejected all consolation: she would scarcely taste food, and refused every kind of medicine, declaring that she wished to die, and would live no longer. She could not even be prevailed on to go to bed; but threw herself on the carpet, where she remained, pensive and silent, during ten days and nights, leaning on cushions, and holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed upon the ground. Her sighs, her groans, were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to utter, and which preyed upon her life. At last, her death visibly approaching, the privy council sent to know her will on the subject of the succession. She answered with a feeble voice, that, as she held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor; and when Cecil requested her to explain herself, she said, "who should that be but my nearest "kinsman the king of Scots?" She expired soon after, without a struggle, her body being wasted by anguish and abstinence[23].

22 Birch's *Memoirs*.

23 Camden.—Birch.—Strype.—In this account of the death of Elizabeth, I have differed, in some particulars, from the crowd of historians. But, in conformity with general testimony, I have mentioned her *nomination* of the king of Scotland as her successor; yet a respectable eye and ear-witness tells us, that she was *speechless* before the question relative to the succession was proposed by the privy council. He candidly adds, however, "that by putting her hand to her head, when the king "of Scots was named to succeed her, *they all knew he was the man she desired*

History does not afford a more striking lesson on the unsubstantial nature of human greatness than in the close of this celebrated reign. Few sovereigns ever swayed a sceptre with greater dignity than Elizabeth: few ever enjoyed more uniform prosperity, and none could be more beloved; yet this great princess, after all her glory and popularity, lived to fall into neglect, and sunk to the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief, accompanied by circumstances of distress, which the wretch under torture might pity, and which the slave who expires at the oar does not feel. But the reign of Elizabeth yields other lessons. It shows to what a degree of wealth and consequence a nation may be raised in a few years by a wise and vigorous administration, and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people, in repelling or annoying an enemy, however superior in force.

The character of Elizabeth herself has been too often drawn to admit of any new feature, and is best delineated in her conduct. To all the personal jealousy, the coquetry, and little vanities of a woman, she united the sound understanding and firm spirit of a man. A greater share of feminine softness might have made her more agreeable as a wife or a mistress, though not a better queen: a less insidious policy would have reflected more lustre on her administration, and a less rigid frugality, on some occasions, would have given more success to her arms. But as she was, and as she acted, she must be allowed to have been one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be considered as the most illustrious female that ever did honour to humanity.

"*should reign after her.*" (*Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth*, written by himself, p. 141). The late John earl of Corke, editor of Carey's Memoirs, gives a less liberal interpretation of this sign: he supposes it might be the effect of pain.

[library stamp]

LETTER LXXV.

Sketch of the French History, from the Peace of Vervins, in 1598, to the Death of Henry IV. in 1610, with some Account of the Affairs of Germany, under Rodolph II.

NO kingdom, exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts and pensions; the country barren and desolated; the people poor and miserable; and the nobles, from a long habit of rebellion, rapine, and disorder, had nearly lost all sense of justice, allegiance, or legal submission. They had been accustomed to despise the authority of the prince, to invade the royal prerogative, and to sport with the lives and property of the people. A.D. 1598.

Happily France was favoured with a king, equally able and willing to remedy all these evils. Henry IV., to a sincere regard for the welfare of his subjects, added a sound head and a bold heart. His superiority in arms, to which he had been habituated from his early years, gave him great sway with all men of the military profession; and his magnanimity, gallantry, and gaiety, recommended him to the nobility in general; while his known vigour and promptitude, concurring with the love of his people, curbed the more factious spirits, or enabled him to crush them before their schemes were ripe for execution.

But to form a regular plan of administration, and to pursue it with success, amid so many dangers and difficulties, required more than the wisdom of one head, and the firmness of one heart. Henry stood in need of an able and upright minister, to whom he might resign the ordinary cares of government, and with whom he might consult on the most important matters of state. Such an

assistant he found in the marquis de Rosni, whom, to add weight to his measures, he created duke of Sully.

This nobleman seemed formed to be the minister of Henry IV. Equally brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he was more cool and persevering than that great prince, whose volatility and quickness of thought did not permit him to attend long to any one object. Attached to his master's person by friendship, and to his interest and the public good by principle, he employed himself with the most indefatigable industry to restore the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the nobility, or trespassing on the rights of the people. He first attended to the finances; and it is inconceivable in how little time he drew the most exact order out of that chaos, in which they had been involved by his predecessors. He made the king perfectly master of his own affairs; digesting the whole system of finance into tables, by the help of which Henry could see, almost at a single glance, all the branches of his revenue and expenditure. He levied taxes in the shortest and most frugal manner possible; for he held, that every man so employed was a citizen lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He diminished all the expenses of government; but, at the same time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king should always have such a reserve, as not to be obliged, on any emergency, either to lay new impositions on his people, or to make use of credit[1]. By these prudent measures, he paid, in the space of five years, all the debts of the crown; augmented the revenue by the sum of four millions of livres, and had four millions in the treasury, though he had considerably reduced the taxes[2].

His attention, however, was not confined to the finances. He had the most sound notions of policy and legislation; and he endeavoured to reduce them to practice. "If I "had a principle to establish," says he, "it would be this:

1 Thuan. *Hist.* 2 *Mémoires de Sully*, tome iv.

"*that good morals and good laws are reciprocally formed*
"*by each other.*" No observation can be more just, or more important to society: for, if the government neglect the manners, a relaxation of manners will lead to a neglect of laws; and the evil will go on always increasing, until the community arrive at the highest degree of corruption, when it must reform or go to ruin. "Hence," adds Sully, "in the affairs of men, the excess of evil is always the "source of good[3]." In consequence of this mode of thinking, he co-operated warmly with the king's wishes for restoring order and justice throughout his dominions, and promoted the enactment of such laws as were farther necessary for that purpose.

But Sully's maxims, though in general excellent, were better suited in some respects to a poor and small republic than to a great and wealthy monarchy. Sensible that a fertile country, well cultivated, is the principal source of the happiness of a people, and the most solid foundation of national prosperity, he gave great encouragement to agriculture. But the austerity of his principles made him an enemy to all manufactures connected with luxury, although it is evident that a prosperous people will possess themselves of such manufactures, and that, if they cannot fabricate them, they must be purchased from foreigners with the precious metals, or with the common produce of the soil, which might otherwise be employed in the maintenance of useful artisans.

Henry himself, whose ideas were more liberal, though generally less accurate than those of his minister, had more just notions of this point. He accordingly introduced the culture and the manufacture of silk, contrary to the opinion of Sully: and the success was answerable to his expectations. Before his death, he had the satisfaction to see that this manufacture not only sup- A.D. 1602.

3 *Mém. de Sully*, tome iv.

plied the home consumption, but brought more money into the kingdom than any of the former staple commodities[4].

Henry also established, at great expense, manufactures of linen and tapestry. The workmen for the first he drew from the United Provinces; for the last, from the Spanish Netherlands. He gave high wages and good settlements to all[5]. Hence arose his success. He was sensible that industrious individuals would not leave their native country without the temptation of large profit, and that, after they had left it, and acquired opulence, they would be inclined to return, in order to enjoy the company of their friends and fellow-citizens, unless fixed by such advantages as should over-balance that desire. To facilitate commerce, and promote the accommodation of his subjects, he built the Pont-Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and Loire; and he had projected the junction of the two seas, when a period was put to his life and all his great designs.

A. D. 1607.

In the prosecution of these wise and salutary measures, which raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved to a more flourishing condition than she had ever enjoyed, Henry met with a variety of obstructions, proceeding from a variety of causes. A heart too susceptible of tender impressions was continually engaging him in new amours, destructive at once of his domestic peace and of the public tranquillity; and what was truly extraordinary in a man of gallantry, the last attachment appeared always to be the strongest. His sensibility, instead of being blunted, seemed only to become keener by the change of objects. Scarcely had death relieved him from the importunities of Gabrielle d'Estrées (whom he had created duchess of Beaufort, and who possessed such an absolute ascendency over him

4 Sir G. Carew's *Relation of the State of France under Henry IV.*
5 P. Matthieu.

that he seemed resolved to marry her, in opposition to the advice of his wisest counsellors) when he gave a promise of marriage to Henrietta d'Entragues, though not yet divorced from Margaret of Valois, his first queen, whose licentious amours had disgusted him, though perhaps as excusable as his own. That artful wanton had drawn this promise from him, before she would crown his wishes. He showed the obligation to Sully, when ready to be delivered; and that faithful servant, transported with zeal for his master's honour, tore it in pieces. "I believe you are "become a fool!" said Henry. "I know it," replied Sully; "and wish I were the only fool in France[6]."

Sully now thought himself out of favour for ever; and remained in that opinion, when the king surprised him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordnance. The sentence of divorce which Henry had long been soliciting at Rome, was procured in 1599; and to please his subjects, he espoused Mary of Medicis, daughter of Francis, grand duke of Tuscany. But this step did not put an end to his gallantries, which continued to embroil him either with the queen or his mistress, created marchioness of Verneuil. And Sully, whose good offices were always required on such occasions, often found the utmost difficulty in accommodating these amorous quarrels, which greatly agitated the mind of Henry[7].

But the king's most alarming troubles proceeded from the intrigues of the court of Spain. By these the duke of Savoy was encouraged to maintain war against him; and, after that prince was humbled, the duke of Biron was drawn into a conspiracy, which cost him his head. Other conspiracies were formed through the same A.D. 1608. instigation: the queen herself was induced to

6 *Mém. de Sully*, tome ii.

7 It was a satirical survey of this weak side of Henry's character which induced the sage Bayle to say, that he would have equalled the greatest heroes of antiquity, if he had been early deprived of his virility.

hold a secret correspondence with Spain, and a Spanish faction began to appear in the king's councils[8].

Those continued attempts to disturb the peace of his kingdom, and sap the foundation of his throne, made Henry resolve to carry into execution a design which he had long meditated, of humbling the house of Austria, and circumscribing its power in Italy and Germany. While he was maturing that great project, a dispute concerning the succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers afforded him a pretext for taking arms: and this circumstance naturally leads us to cast an eye on the state of the empire.

Rodolph II., who succeeded his father Maximilian II, in 1576, was a prince of a pacific disposition; and, although he was more occupied about the heavens than the earth (being devoted both to astronomy and astrology, which he studied under the famous Tycho Brahe), the empire during his long reign enjoyed an extraordinary degree of tranquillity. The equity of his administration compensated its weakness. The chief disturbances which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias, whom we have seen governor of the United Provinces. The Turks having invaded Hungary, Matthias was successful in opposing their progress; and a peace was concluded in 1606, with Ahmed, the successor of Mohammed III. The Hungarians, jealous of their religious rights, conferred their crown upon Matthias, their deliverer, who granted them full liberty of conscience, with every other privilege which they could desire[9]. He afterward became master of Austria and Moravia, on the same conditions: and Rodolph, to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him those usurpations, with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root[10].

8 Dupleix.—Mezeray. 9 Heiss, *Hist. de l'Emp.* liv. iii. chap. vii.
10 Heiss, *Hist. de l'Emp.* liv. iii.—Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome ix.

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they entered into a new confederacy called the Evangelical Union. This association was opposed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League. The succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the heads of the two parties, who may be said to have slumbered since the peace of Passau.

A.D. 1609.

John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, having died without issue, several competitors arose for the succession, and the most powerful prepared to support their title by the sword. To prevent the evils which must have been occasioned by such violent contests, as well as to support his own authority, the emperor cited all the claimants to appear before him, within a certain term, to explain the nature of their several pretensions. Meanwhile he sequestered the fiefs in dispute, and sent his cousin Leopold, in quality of governor, to take possession of them, and to rule them in his name, till the right of inheritance should be settled. Alarmed at this step, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg, two of the competitors, united against the emperor, whom they suspected of interested views. They were supported by the elector Palatine, and the other princes of the evangelical union, as the emperor was by the elector of Saxony, one of the claimants, and the princes of the catholic league; and, as their enemies were in alliance with the pope and the king of Spain, they applied to the king of France[11].

Henry wanted only a decent apology for breaking openly with the house of Austria; and with such a pretence he was now furnished. The Protestant envoys found

11 Heiss et Barre, ubi sup.

him well disposed to assist them: and a domestic event contributed to confirm his resolution. He was enamoured of the princess of Condé[12]. Her husband, in a fit of jealousy, carried her to Brussels. The archduke Albert afforded them protection, notwithstanding a message from the French court, demanding their return. This new injury, which Henry keenly felt, added to former grounds of animosity, inflamed his rage against the house of Austria to the highest pitch; and he began instantly to put in motion all the wheels of that vast machine, which he had been constructing for many years, in order to erect a balance of power in Europe.

Historians are as much divided with regard to the nature of Henry's *Grand Design* (for so it is commonly called) as they are agreed about its object. The plan of a Christian commonwealth, as exhibited in Sully's Memoirs, by dividing Europe into fifteen associated states, seems a theory too romantic even for the visionary brain of a speculative politician. Henry might, at times, amuse his imagination with such a splendid idea; for the soundest minds have their reveries: but he never could seriously think of carrying it into execution. Perhaps he made use of it only as a gay covering to his real purpose of weakening the house of Austria, and of making himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of Christendom.

But whatever may have been the scheme on which Henry valued himself so much, and from which he expected such extraordinary consequences, his avowed reso-

12 His passion for that lady commenced before her marriage; and he seems only to have connected her with the prince of Condé in order more securely to gratify his desires. "When I first perceived," says Sully, "this growing inclination in "Henry, I used my utmost endeavours to prevent its progress, as I foresaw much "greater inconveniences from it than from any of his former attachments. And "although these endeavours proved ineffectual, I renewed them, when the king "proposed to me his design of marrying Mademoiselle Montmorency to the prince "of Condé; for I had no reason to expect that Henry would exert, in such circum- "stances, that generous self-denial of which some lovers have shown themselves ca- "pable, when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity "of renouncing the object of a tender affection. *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xxvi.

lution now was, to give law to the German branch of the Austrian family, by supporting the evangelical union. His preparations were vigorous, and his negotiations successful. Charles, duke of Savoy, his old enemy, and the most politic prince in Europe, readily entered into his views; and the Swiss and the Venetians took part in the alliance. He himself assembled an army of forty thousand men, chiefly old troops; and a more excellent train of artillery was prepared than had ever been brought into the field. Sully assured him there were forty millions of livres in the treasury; "and," added he, "if you do not "increase your army beyond forty thousand, I will sup-"ply you with money sufficient for the support of the "war, without imposing any new tax[13].

He proposed to command his army in person, and was impatient to put himself at its head; but the queen, appointed regent during his absence, insisted on being solemnly crowned before his departure. He is said to have been more disquieted at the thoughts of this ceremony than by any thing that had ever happened to him in his life. He was not only displeased at the delay which it occasioned, but, as we are informed, felt an inward dread, arising, no doubt, from the barbarous attempts which had been made upon his person, the rumours of new conspiracies, and the opportunity which a crowd afforded of putting them in execution. He agreed, however, to the coronation, notwithstanding these apprehensions, and even to be present at it. On that occasion he escaped: but, the next day, his coach being obstructed in a narrow street, Ravaillac, a blood-thirsty bigot, who had long sought such an opportunity, mounted the wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, and amidst six more of his courtiers. The assassin, like some others of that age, thought he had

A. D. 1610.

May 14, N. S.

13 *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xxvii.

done an acceptable service to God in committing murder; especially as the king was going to assist the Protestants, and consequently was still a heretic in his heart. He accordingly did not offer to make his escape, and seemed much surprised at the general detestation of his crime. He declared to the last, that it was entirely his own act, and that he had no accomplice[14].

Thus perished Henry IV., one of the ablest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind than is suggested by his untimely fall; that a wretch unworthy of existence, and incapable of one meritorious action, should be able to obstruct the most illustrious enterprises, and to terminate a life necessary to the welfare of millions! —Henry's chief weakness was his inordinate passion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemish in his private, than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was always a king. He never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, or to influence him in the choice of his servants. But his libertine example had unavoidably a pernicious effect upon the manners of the nation: it produced a licentious gallantry that infected all orders of men, and which only his heroic qualities could have counteracted, or prevented from degenerating into the most enervating sensuality[15]. It was productive, however, of consequences abundantly fatal. Four thousand French gentlemen are said to have been killed in single combats, chiefly arising from amorous quarrels, during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign[16]. "Having been long habituated to the "sight of blood, and prodigal of his own," says Sully, "he could never be prevailed on strictly to enforce the "laws against duelling."

14 *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xxvii.—Perefixe.—Matthieu.

15 *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xxv.—*Galanteries des Rois de France.*

16 *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de France.*

LETTER LXXVI.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Assassination of Henry IV. to the Treaty of Prague, in 1635.

THE greater part of the European continent, during the period that followed the death of Henry IV., was a scene of anarchy, rebellion, and bloodshed. Germany continued for many years involved in those disputes which he was preparing to settle. Religious controversies, which generally mingle themselves with civil affairs, distracted the United Provinces, and robbed them of the sweets of that liberty which they had so gallantly earned by their valour and perseverance. And France, under the minority of Louis XIII., and the weak regency of his mother, Mary of Medicis, returned to that state of disorder and wretchedness, out of which it had been raised by the mild and equitable, but vigorous government of Henry the Great.

The transactions of this turbulent period, to the peace of Westphalia, when the harmony of the empire was established, and tranquillity, in some measure, restored to Europe, I propose to comprehend in two extensive sketches; and, to prevent confusion, as well as to preserve the general effect, I shall be sparing in particulars. The consideration of the affairs of England, from the accession of the house of Stuart to the subversion of the monarchy, with the grand struggle between the king and parliament, and the narration of the complicated transactions on the continent during the reign of Louis XIV., whose ambition gave birth to a series of wars, intrigues, and negotiations, unequalled in the history of mankind, I shall defer till you may be supposed to have digested the materials already before you; observing, in the mean

time, that soon after the peace of Westphalia, which may be considered as the foundation of all subsequent treaties, society almost every-where assumed its present form.—I must begin with a view of the troubles of Germany.

The two great confederacies, distinguished by the names of the Catholic League and Evangelical Union, which had threatened the empire with a furious civil war, appeared to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. But the elector of Brandenburg and duke of Neuburg still maintained their claim to the succession of Cleves and Juliers; and being assisted by Maurice, prince of Orange, and some French troops, under the mareschal de la Chatre, they expelled Leopold, the sequestrator, and took possession by force of arms. They afterwards, however, disagreed between themselves, but were again reconciled from a sense of mutual interest. In this petty quarrel Spain and the United Provinces interested themselves, and the two greatest generals in Europe were once more opposed to each other;—Spinola on the part of the duke of Neuburg, who had renounced Lutheranism in order to procure the protection of his catholic majesty; and Maurice on the side of the elector of Brandenburg, who introduced Calvinism into his dominions, more strongly to attach the Dutch to his cause[1].

Rodolph II. died during this contest, and was succeeded by Matthias. The Protestants, to whom the archduke had been very indulgent, in order to accomplish his ambitious views, no sooner saw him seated on the imperial throne, than they plied him with memorials, requiring an extension of their privileges, while the Catholics petitioned for new restrictions; and, to complete his confusion, the Turks entered Transylvania. But the extent of the Ottoman dominions, which had so long given alarm to Christendom, on this, as well as on former occasions, proved its safety. The young and am-

Jan. 20, 1612, N.S.

1 *Mercur. Gallo-Belg.* tome x. liv. iii.

bitious Ahmed, who seemed confident of the conquest of Hungary, was obliged to recall his forces from that quarter, to protect the eastern frontier of his empire; and Matthias obtained, without striking a blow, a peace as advantageous as he could have expected after the most successful war. He stipulated for the restitution of Agria, Pest, Buda, and every other place which the Turks held in Hungary[2]. A.D. 1615.

Matthias now resolved to pull off the mask which he had so long worn on purpose to deceive the Protestants, and to convince them that he was their master. Meanwhile, as he was advancing in years, and declining in health, he procured, in order to strengthen his authority, his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz, duke of Stiria, whom he intended as his successor in the empire, to be elected king of Bohemia, and acknowledged in Hungary; and he engaged the Spanish branch of the house of Austria to renounce all pretensions which it could have to those crowns[3]. A.D. 1617.

This family compact alarmed the Protestant confederates, and occasioned a revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. The malcontents in Hungary were soon pacified; but the Bohemian Protestants, whose privileges had been invaded, obstinately continued in arms, and were joined by those of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria. The insurgents were headed by count de la Tour, a man of abilities, and supported by an army of German Protestants, under count Mansfeld, natural son of the distinguished general of that name, who was for a time governor of the Spanish Netherlands.—Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which desolated Germany for thirty years, interested all the powers of Europe, and was not finally extinguished before the peace of Westphalia. A.D. 1618.

Amidst these disorders died the emperor Matthias

2 Heiss, liv. iii. chap. viii. 3 *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

March 20, 1619, N. S. without being able to foresee the event of the struggle, or who should be his successor. The imperial dignity, however, was assigned according to his destination. Ferdinand de Gratz was raised to the vacant throne, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector Palatine and the states of Bohemia; and, with a less tyrannical disposition, he would have been worthy of that high station.

The election of Ferdinand II., instead of intimidating the Bohemians, roused them to more vigorous measures. They formally deposed him, and chose Frederic V., elector Palatine, for their king. Frederic, seduced by his flatterers, unwisely accepted the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of James I. of England, his father-in-law, who used all his influence in persuading him to reject it, and protested that he would give him no assistance in such a rash undertaking.

This measure confirmed the quarrel between Ferdinand and the Bohemians. Frederic was seconded by all the Protestant princes, except the elector of Saxony, who still adhered to the emperor, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of Cleves and Juliers. Bethlem Gabor, vaivode of Transylvania, also declared in favour of the Palatine; entered Hungary, made himself master of many places, and was proclaimed king by the Protestants of that country[4].

Frederic was farther supported by two thousand four hundred English volunteers, whom James permitted to embark in a cause which he disapproved; and by a body of eight thousand men, under prince Henry of Nassau, from the United Provinces. But Ferdinand, assisted by the Catholic princes of the empire, by the king of Spain, and the archduke Albert, was more than a match for his enemies. Spinola led twenty-five thousand veterans from the Low Countries, and plundered the Palatine, in defiance of the Eng-

4 Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tome ix.

lish and Dutch; while Frederic himself, unable to protect his new kingdom of Bohemia, was totally routed, Nov. 8, 1620. N. S. near Prague, by the imperial general Buquoy, and his own catholic kinsman, the duke of Bavaria[5].

The Palatine and his adherents were now put to the ban of the empire; and the Bohemian rebels being reduced, an army was dispatched into Hungary A.D. 1621. against Bethlem Gabor, who consented to resign his pretensions to that crown, on obtaining conditions otherwise advantageous. In the mean time the conquest of the Palatinate was completed by the Imperialists under count Tilly. Frederic was degraded from his electoral dignity, which was conferred on the duke of Bavaria; and his dominions were bestowed by Ferdinand, "in the fulness of "his power," upon those who had helped to subdue them[6].

While the house of Austria was thus extending its authority in Germany, a project, no less ambitious than bloody, was concerted for rendering the Spanish branch of that family absolute in Italy. The duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Villa Franca, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedomar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, conspired to subject the Venetians, and with them the rest of the Italian states, to the arbitrary sway of their master. For this purpose they had formed a horrid plot, which, if it had not been seasonably detected, would have put them in possession of Venice. That city was to have been set on fire in different parts, by a band of ruffians already lodged within its walls; while a body of troops, sent from Milan, should attack it on one side, and some armed vessels from Naples on the other. But this atrocious design was discovered by the vigilance of the senate in 1618, when it was almost ripe for execution. The majority of the conspirators were privately drowned; and Bedomar, who had violated the law of

5 Heiss, liv. iii. chap. ix. 6 Barre, tome ix.

nations, being secretly conducted out of the city, was glad to make his escape[7].

A project was formed in the sequel, for extending the Spanish dominions in Italy, by the duke of Feria, who had succeeded the marquis de Villa Franca in the government of Milan. He encouraged the popish inhabitants of the Valteline to revolt from the Grisons: and the king of Spain, as protector of the catholic faith, supported them in their rebellion. The situation of the Valteline rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the house of Austria, shut the Swiss out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and was a bridle on all the Italian states.

March 31, N. S. In the midst of these ambitious schemes (to which of himself he was little inclined) the king of Spain died. Philip IV., his son and successor, was a prince of a more enterprising disposition; and the abilities of Olivarez, the new minister, were far superior to those of the duke of Lerma, who had directed the measures of government during the greater part of the former reign. The ambition of Olivarez was yet more lofty than his capacity. He made his master assume the surname of Great, as soon as he ascended the throne, and thought himself bound to justify the appellation. He hoped to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been so long struggling. In prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain the closest alliance with the emperor; to make him despotic in Germany; to keep possession of the Valteline; to humble the Italian powers, and reduce the United Provinces to subjection, as the truce had now expired[8].

Nor was this project so chimerical as it may at first sight appear. The emperor had already crushed the force of the

7 St. Real, *Conjuration des Espagnols.*—Batt. Nani, *Hist. della Republica Veneta.*

8 *Anecdotes d'Olivar.*

protestant league; France was distracted by civil wars, and England was amused by a matrimonial treaty between the prince of Wales and the infanta, which, more than every other consideration, prevented James from taking any material step in favour of the Palatine, till he was stripped of his dominions. But France, though internally agitated, was not lost to all sense of external danger; and the match with the infanta being broken off, by a quarrel between the English and Spanish ministers, an alliance was formed between France and England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate[9].—The affairs of Holland now demand our attention. A. D. 1624.

After the truce of 1609, the United Provinces, as I have already noticed, became a prey to religious dissensions. Gomar and Arminius, two professors at Leyden, differed on some abstract points in theology, and their opinions divided the republic. Gomar maintained, in all their austerity, the doctrines of Calvin in regard to grace and predestination; Arminius endeavoured to soften them. The Gomarists, who composed the body of the people, ever carried toward enthusiasm, were headed by prince Maurice; the Arminians, by the pensionary Barneveldt, a firm patriot, who had been chiefly instrumental in negotiating the late truce, in opposition to the house of Orange. The Arminian principles were defended by Grotius, Vossius, and the learned in general. But prince Maurice and the Gomarists at last prevailed. The Arminian preachers were banished, and Barneveldt was brought to the block in 1619, for "vexing the church of God" (as his sentence imported), at the age of seventy-two years, and after he had served the republic forty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice had in the field. He was a man of eminent abilities and incorruptible integrity, and had espoused

9 Rushworth.—Clarendon.

the cause of the Arminians chiefly from a persuasion that Maurice intended to make use of his popularity with the Gomarists, and of their hatred of the other sect, in order to enslave that people whom he had so gloriously defended against the tyranny of Spain[10].

This opinion appears to have been well founded: for Maurice, during these religious commotions, frequently violated the rights of the republic; and so vigorous an opposition was necessary to prevent him from overturning its liberties. The ardour of ambition at once withered his well-earned laurels and disappointed itself. The death of Barneveldt opened the eyes of the people. They saw their danger, and the iniquity of the sentence, notwithstanding their religious prejudices. Maurice was detested as a tyrant, at the very time that he hoped to be received as a sovereign. The deliverer of his country, when he went abroad, was saluted with groans and murmurs; and, as he passed, the name of Barneveldt sounded in his ears from every street.

But, amid all their civil and religious dissensions, the Dutch were extending their commerce and their conquests in both extremities of the globe. The city of Batavia was founded, and the plan of an empire laid in the East-Indies, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the United Provinces. They had already cast their eyes on Brasil, which they conquered soon after the expiration of the truce; and they carried on a lucrative trade with the European settlements in the West-Indies. The prospect of hostilities with their ancient masters composed their domestic animosities. They dismissed their jealousy of Maurice, as he seemed to relinquish his ambitious views. Every one was zealous to oppose and annoy the common enemy; and Spinola was obliged, by his old antagonist, to relinquish the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, in 1622, after

10 Le Clerc.

having lost ten thousand of his best troops in the enterprise [11].

In France, during this period, both civil and religious disputes were carried much higher than in Holland. Louis XIII. being a minor when Henry IV. was murdered, Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, was chosen regent. New counsels were immediately adopted, and the sage maxims of Sully despised. He, therefore, resigned his employments and retired from court. The regent was entirely guided by her Italian favourites, Concini and his wife Galligai. By them, in concert with the pope and the duke of Florence, was negotiated, in 1612, an union between France and Spain, by means of a double marriage; of Louis with Anne of Austria, the eldest infanta; and of Elizabeth the king's sister, with the prince of Asturias, afterwards Philip IV. The dissolution of the alliances formed under the late reign, and the ruin of the Protestants, were also among the projects of Mary's Italian ministers[12].

The nobility, dissatisfied with the measures of the court, and with the favour shown to foreigners, entered into cabals: they revolted in 1613; and the treasures collected by Henry in order to humble the house of Austria, were employed by a weak administration to appease those factious leaders. The prince of Condé, who had headed the former faction, revolted anew in 1615. He and his adherents were again gratified, at the expense of the public; and, fresh intrigues being suspected, he was sent to the Bastile.

The imprisonment of the prince of Condé alarmed many of the nobles, who retired from court, and prepared for their defence; or, in other words, for hostilities. Meanwhile Concini, who still maintained his influence, received a blow from a quarter whence he little expected it. Luines, who had originally recommended himself to the young king's favour by rearing and training birds for his amusement, found means to make him jealous of his authority. He dwelt on the ambition of the queen-mother, and the mal-administra-

11 Neuville, *Hist. d'Hollande.* 12 Dupleix.—Mezeray.

tion of her foreign favourites, to whom the most important affairs of state were committed, and whose insolence, he affirmed, had occasioned all the dissatisfactions among the great[13].

Louis, struck with the picture set before him, and desirous of seising the reins of government, immediately ordered Concini to be arrested; and Vitri, captain of the guards, to whom that service was entrusted, executed it, in 1617, entirely to the wish of Luines. Concini was shot, under pretence of resistance. The sentence of treason was passed on his memory; and Galligai, his widow, being accused of sorcery and magic, was condemned by the parliament to suffer death, for treason *divine* and *human*. When asked what spell she had used to fascinate the queen-mother, she magnanimously replied, " that influence which a superior mind has over a " feeble spirit!" The regent was confined for a time to her apartment, and afterwards exiled to Blois[14].

The indignation which Concini and his wife had excited was soon transferred to Luines, enriched by their immense spoils, and who engrossed in a still higher degree the royal favour. His avarice and ambition knew no bounds. From a page and gentleman of the bedchamber, he became, in rapid succession, a mareschal, duke, and peer of France; constable, and keeper of the seals. In the mean time a conspiracy was formed for the release of the queen-mother, and carried into execution by the duke d'Espernon, whose power at first exalted her to the regency. The court, for a time, talked loudly of violent measures: but it was judged proper, in 1619, to conclude a treaty advantageous to the malcontents, and avoid proceeding to extremities. This lenity encouraged Mary to enter into fresh cabals; and a new treaty was agreed to by the court, no less indulgent than the former[15].

13 *Mém. des Affaires de France*, depuis 1610, jusqu'à 1620.
14 Mezeray. 15 Mezeray.—*Vie du Duc d'Espernon.*

These cabals in opposition to the court were chiefly conducted by Richelieu, bishop of Luçon. He had risen to notice through the influence of Galligai: he had been disgraced with the queen-mother, and with her he returned into favour, as well as consequence. At her solicitation he obtained a cardinal's hat, a seat in the council, and, soon after, a share in the administration[16]. But hypocrisy was necessary to conceal, for a season, from envy and jealousy, those transcendent abilities which were one day to astonish Europe.

A new civil war soon arose, more violent than any of the former. Louis having united, by a solemn edict, the principality of Bearn, the hereditary estate of the family, to the crown of France, in 1620, attempted to re-establish the Catholic religion in that province, where there were no Catholics[17], and to restore to the clergy the church lands, contrary to the stipulations of Henry IV. The Huguenots, alarmed at the impending danger, assembled at Rochelle, in contempt of the king's prohibition: and concluding that their final destruction was resolved upon, they determined to throw off the royal authority, and establish a republic, after the example of the Protestants in the Low Countries, for the protection of their civil and religious liberties. Rochelle was to be the capital of the new commonwealth, which would have formed a separate state within the kingdom of France[18].

The constable Luines, equally ignorant and presumptuous, imagining he could subdue this formidable party, immediately had recourse to arms. Nor was intrigue neglected. After seducing, by bribes and promises, several of the Protestant leaders, among whom was the duke of Bouillon, and reducing some inconsiderable places, the king and Luines laid siege to Montauban in 1621. The

16 Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.* 17 Dupleix, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*
18 Id. ibid.

royal army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, animated by the presence of their sovereign; but the place was so gallantly defended by the marquis de la Force, that Louis and his favourite, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to abandon the enterprise. Luines died soon after this shameful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Lesdiguieres, who had already deserted the Huguenots, and solemnly renounced Calvinism, was honoured with the constable's sword[19].

The loss which the Protestant cause sustained by the apostasy of Lesdiguieres, and by the defection of the duke of Bouillon, was compensated by the zeal and abilities of the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise; men not inferior (especially the duke), either in civil or military talents, to any of the age in which they lived. Soubise, however, was defeated by the king in person, who continued to carry on the war with vigour. But the duke still kept the field; and Louis having invested Montpelier, which defended itself as gallantly as Montauban, peace was concluded with the Huguenots, in 1622, to prevent a second disgrace. They obtained a confirmation of the edict of Nantes; and the duke of Rohan, who negotiated the treaty, was gratified to the utmost of his wish[20].

The French councils now began to assume greater vigour. Cardinal Richelieu, who succeeded Luines as prime minister, formed three important projects. He resolved to subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Huguenots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. But, in order to carry these great designs into execution, it was necessary to preserve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived; and accordingly concluded, in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid, a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, sister of Louis. He also

19 *Hist. du Connétable de Lesdig.*

20 *Mém. du Duc de Rohan.*

negotiated between the two crowns, in conjunction with the United Provinces, that alliance which I have already noticed, and which brought on hostilities with Spain.

In consequence of these negotiations, six thousand men were sent from England to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice. Count Mansfeld was engaged in the English service; and twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, under his command, embarked at Dover, in order to join the league formed in Lower Saxony for the restoration of the Palatine, of which Christian IV., king of Denmark, was declared chief. About the same time a French army, in concert with the Venetians and the duke of Savoy, recovered the Valteline, and restored it to the Grisons [21]. A. D. 1625.

The house of Austria was not less active than its enemies. Spinola reduced Breda, one of the strongests towns in the Netherlands, in spite of all the efforts of prince Maurice, who died of chagrin before the place surrendered. The English failed in an attempt upon Cadiz: the embarkation under count Mansfeld proved abortive; and the king of Denmark was defeated by the imperialists near Northeim [22]. A. D. 1626.

The miscarriages of the English cooled their ardour for foreign enterprises; and cardinal Richelieu found, for a time, sufficient business to occupy his genius at home. He had not only to pacify the Huguenots, who had again rebelled, and to whom he found it necessary to grant advantageous conditions, but he had a powerful faction at court to oppose. Not one prince of the blood was heartily his friend. Gaston duke of Orléans, the king's brother, was his declared enemy; the queen-mother herself had

21 Auberi.—Dupleix.

22 Heiss.—Le Clerc.—Rushworth.

become jealous of him; and Louis was more attached to him from fear than affection. But his bold and ambitious spirit triumphed over every obstacle; it discovered and dissipated all the conspiracies formed against him, and at length made him absolute master of the king and kingdom.

During these cabals in the French cabinet, the Huguenots showed once more a disposition to render themselves independent: and in that spirit they were encouraged by the court of England, which voluntarily took up arms in their cause. The reason assigned by some historians for this step is very singular.

As Lous XIII. was wholly governed by cardinal Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivarez, Charles I. was in like manner governed by the duke of Buckingham, the handsomest and most pompous man of his time, but not the deepest politician. He was naturally amorous, bold, and presumptuous; and when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, he is said to have carried his addresses even to the queen of France. The return which he met with from Anne of Austria, whose complexion was as amorous as his own, encouraged him to project a new embassy to the court of Versailles; but Richelieu, reported to have been his rival in love as well as in politics, advised Louis to prohibit the journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion, swore he would "see the queen, in spite of "all the power of France[23];" and hence is supposed to have originated the war in which he involved his master.

Rash and impetuous, however, as Buckingham was, he appears to have had better reasons for that measure. Richelieu was still meditating the destruction of the Huguenots: they had been deprived of some of their cautionary towns; and he had ordered the erection of forts, in order to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark. If the Protestant party should be utterly subdued, France

23 Clarendon's *Hist.* vol. i.—*Mém. de Mad. de Motteville*, tome i.

would soon become formidable to England. This consideration was of itself sufficient to induce Buckingham to undertake the defence of the Huguenots.

But, independently of such political forecast, and of his amorous quarrel with Richelieu, the English minister had powerful motives for such a measure. That profound statesman had engaged the duke to send some ships to act against the Rochelle fleet, under a promise that, after the humiliation of the Huguenots, France should take an active part in the war between England and Spain. This ill-judged compliance roused the resentment of the English commons against Buckingham, and had been made one of the grounds of an impeachment. He then changed his plan, and procured a peace for the Huguenots; and finding that the cardinal would neither concur with him in the war against Spain, nor observe the treaty with the reformed party, he had no other course left for recovering his credit with the parliament and people (especially after the miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz) but to take arms against the court of France, in vindication of the rights of the French Protestants[24].

The duke's views, in undertaking this war, are less censurable than his conduct in carrying them into execution. He appeared before Rochelle with a fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men; but so ill-concerted were his measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates against him, and refused to admit allies of whose coming they were not previously informed[25]. They were but a part of the Protestant body, they observed, and must consult their brethren before they could take such a step. This blunder was followed by another. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island, and defenceless, Buckingham made a descent on the Isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified. All his military operations showed equal incapacity

A. D. 1627.

24 Clarendon.—Dupleix. 25 Rushworth, vol. i.

and inexperience. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which covered the landing-place; he allowed Thoiras, the governor, to amuse him with a deceitful negotiation, till St. Martin, the principal fort, was provided for a siege; he attacked it before he had made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of his soldiers; and he so negligently guarded the sea, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to retreat to his ships. He was himself the last man that embarked; and having lost two-thirds of his land-forces, he returned to England, totally discredited both as an admiral and a general, bringing home with him no reputation but that of personal courage [26].

This ill-concerted and ill-conducted enterprise proved fatal to Rochelle and to the power of the French Protestants. Richelieu, under pretence of guarding the coast against the English, sent a body of troops into the neighbourhood, and ordered quarters to be marked out for twenty-five thousand men. The siege of Rochelle was regularly formed and conducted with vigour by the king, and even by the cardinal in person. Neither the duke of Rohan nor Soubise were in the place; yet the citizens, animated by civil and religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military stores, were determined to defend themselves to extremity. Under the command of Guiton, their mayor, a man of experience and fortitude, they made an obstinate resistance, and baffled all attempts to reduce the city by force. But the bold genius of Richelieu, which led him to plan the greatest undertakings, also suggested means, equally great and extraordinary, for their execution. Finding it impossible to take Rochelle while the communication remained open by sea, he attempted to shut the harbour by stakes, and by a boom. Both these methods, however, proving ineffectual, he re-

26 Clarendon.—Rushworth.

collected what Alexander had performed at the siege of Tyre, and projected and finished a mole of a mile's length, across a gulf, into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the works of man. The place being now completely blockaded, and every attempt for its relief failing, the inhabitants were obliged to surrender, after suffering all the miseries of war and famine, during a siege of twelve months. They were deprived of their extensive privileges, and their fortifications were destroyed; but they were allowed to retain possession of their goods, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion [27]. A. D. 1628.

Richelieu did not stop in the middle of his career. He marched immediately towards the other provinces, where the Protestants possessed many cautionary towns, and were still formidable by their numbers. The duke of Rohan defended himself with vigour in Languedoc; but seeing no hopes of being able to continue the struggle, as England, his only natural ally, had already concluded a peace with France and Spain, he at last had recourse to negotiation, and obtained favourable conditions both for himself and his party. The Protestants were left in possession of their estates, of the free exercise of their religion, and of all the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were deprived of their fortifications or cautionary towns, as dangerous to the peace of the state [28]. A. D. 1629.

From this æra we may date the aggrandisement of the French monarchy, in latter times, as well as the absolute dominion of the prince. The authority which Louis XI. had acquired over the great, and which was preserved by his immediate successors, had been lost during the religious wars; which raised up in the Huguenots a new power, that almost divided the strength of the kingdom, and at once exposed it to foreign enemies and domestic factions.

27 *Mém. du Duc de Rohan.* 28 Auberi, *Mém. de Rohan.*

But no sooner was this formidable body humbled, and every order of the state, and every sect, reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign, than France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe, and her independent nobles to sink into the condition of servants of the court.

The cardinal's system, however, though so far advanced, was not yet complete. But the whole was still in contemplation: nor did he ever lose sight of one circumstance that could forward its progress. No sooner had he subdued the Protestants in France than he resolved to support them in Germany, that he might be enabled, by their means, more effectually to set bounds to the ambition of the house of Austria. And never was the power of that house more formidable, or more dangerous to the liberties of Europe.

Ferdinand II., whom we have seen triumphant over the Palatine and the Protestant confederates, continued to carry every thing before him in Germany. The king of Denmark, and his allies in Lower Saxony, were unable to withstand Tilly and Wallestein. After repeated defeats and losses, Christian was obliged to sue for peace; and the emperor found himself, at length, possessed of absolute authority [29].

But, fortunately for mankind, Ferdinand's ambition undid itself, and saved Europe, as well as the empire, from that despotism with which they were threatened. Not satisfied with an uncontrolled sway over Germany, he attempted to revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy. Vincent II., duke of Mantua and Montferrat, having died without issue, Charles de Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, claimed the succession, in virtue of a matrimonial contract, as well as by the right of consanguinity. But Cæsar de Gonzaga, duke of Guastella, had already received, from

29 Barre, tome ix.—*Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

the emperor, the investiture of those ancient fiefs. The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have supplanted the two former: and the king of Spain hoped to exclude all three, under pretence of supporting the last. Ferdinand's desire of aggrandising the house of Austria was well known, as well as his scheme of extending the imperial jurisdiction: and both became now more evident. He put the disputed territories in sequestration, till the cause should be decided at Vienna; and while the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy ravaged Montferrat, a German army pillaged the city of Mantua [30].

Ferdinand now thought the time was coming for realising that idea which he had long revolved, of reducing the electoral princes to the condition of grandees of Spain, and the bishops to the state of imperial chaplains. Sensible, however, of the danger of alarming both religions at once, he resolved to begin with the Protestants; and accordingly issued an edict, ordering them to restore, without loss of time, all the benefices and church lands which they had enjoyed since the peace of Passau [31].

But it was more easy to issue such an edict than to carry it into execution; and Ferdinand, though possessed of an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under two of the ablest generals in Europe, found reason to repent of his temerity. France gave the first check to his ambition. Richelieu had early interested himself in the affairs of Mantua: Louis, in person, had forced the pass of Susa; and, on the conclusion of peace with the Huguenots, the cardinal crossed the Alps at the head of twenty thousand men, gained several advantages over the Spaniards and imperialists, chased the duke of Savoy from his dominions, and obliged the emperor to grant the investiture of Mantua and Montferrat to the duke of Ne- A. D. 1630.

30 Niger. *Disquisit. de Mant. Ducat.*

31 Barre, ubi sup.—Barchel. p. 185.—Pufend. *Comment de Reb. Suec.* lib. 1.

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vers[32]. The duke of Savoy now died of chagrin; and the death of Spinola, who had failed to reduce the citadel of Casal, and thought himself neglected by the Spanish court, is also supposed to have been hastened by uneasy reflections. The accommodation between Louis and the emperor, which terminated this war, was partly negotiated by Julius Mazarine, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world as a priest and politician, having formerly been a captain of horse.

Meanwhile the elector of Saxony, and other princes of the Augsburg Confession, remonstrated against the edict of *Restitution*: they maintained that the emperor had no right to command such restitution, which ought to be made the subject of deliberation in a general diet. A diet was accordingly convoked at Ratisbon; and the greater part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to quiet the Protestants, by granting them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of such benefices as they had possessed since the treaty of Passau. But this advice being vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastical electors, who made use of arguments more agreeable to the views of Ferdinand, he continued obstinate in his purpose; and the Protestants, to save themselves from that robbery with which they were threatened, and which was already begun in many places, secretly formed an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden[33].—But, before I introduce this extraordinary man, we must take a retrospective view of Poland, and the northern states.

The first two Sigismunds, kings of Poland, were respectable princes; but the character of the former was more brilliant than that of his successor, though not more worthy of the praise of the discerning. While the armistice subsisted with Russia, Sigismund II. died, in 1572, after having endeared himself to his subjects by his virtues and his

32 Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*

33 Pufend, ubi sup.—Barre, tome ix.

patriotism. Nine candidates offered themselves for the vacant throne. The competitor whom the diet preferred was Henry duke of Anjou, who was crowned at Cracow amidst the general joy of the Polanders: but their satisfaction, in all probability, would not have been permanent, if he had continued to act as king. He was soon recalled to France by the death of his brother; and the diet, resenting his precipitate and clandestine retreat, and reprobating his intention of governing Poland by a deputy, solemnly deposed him. One party then voted that the emperor Maximilian should be king of Poland; but the majority of the nation favoured the election of Stephen Bathori, a man of extraordinary merit, who had raised himself from a private station to the sovereignty of Transylvania. Stephen quelled a revolt of the city of Dantzic; rescued Livonia from the hands of the Russians; civilized in a great measure the Cossacks of the Ukraine; and swayed his dominions with ability and justice. After his death, Sigismund, son of John III. of Sweden, was elected by one party, in 1587, and the archduke Maximilian, brother of Rodolphus II., by another; but the former prevailed by the efficacy of arms [34].

The reign of Sigismund III. was long and active. His first care was the repression of that corrupt and venal spirit which had diffused itself through the nation, and of those licentious practices which were productive of frequent mischief. He afterwards engaged in a war with the Tartars, by whom his Cossack subjects were at first defeated; but when the celebrated Zamoski took the field against the enemy, he obtained a signal victory over a great superiority of number. Encouraged by this success, the Cossacks furiously ravaged Little Tartary, and ventured to pillage some Turkish vessels on the coast of the Black Sea. The soltan Morad III., incensed at this outrage, denounced vengeance, and sent an army towards Poland;

34 Barre, tome ix.—Heidenst. *Hist. Rerum Polon.*

but when he found that the king had not authorised the hostilities of which the Turks complained, he agreed to a treaty of peace[35].

On the decease of his father, Sigismund repaired to Sweden to receive the crown. The successor of Gustavus Vasa, on the throne of that kingdom, was Eric XIV., whose licentiousness and tyranny, though he was a prince of some merit and accomplishments, subjected him, in 1568, to the misfortune and the stigma of solemn deposition. John III. was the next Swedish monarch. He concluded a dishonourable peace with the Danes; carried on a war against the Russians with various success; and, in 1592, fell a victim to the ignorance of his medical attendants. His son Sigismund soon rendered himself unpopular among the Swedes, by his partiality to the Romish faith. He promised to submit to such restrictions as would preclude all injury to the Protestant establishment; but, as he disregarded all promises of this kind, he became the object of strong suspicion and resentment. His uncle Charles fomented the discontent of the Swedes; and, being entrusted with the regency on the return of Sigismund to Poland, he resolved to embrace the first opportunity of usurpation. After some years of commotion, open hostilities arose between the adherents of the king and the partisans of the regent; and, in 1604, the latter acquired the sovereignty of Sweden, under the appellation of Charles IX.[36]

Sigismund strenuously exerted himself for the recovery of the Swedish crown; but his attempts were frustrated by the vigour and policy of his uncle. He re-took, however, those towns and fortresses which the Swedes had reduced in Livonia, where, among other incidents, an obstinate battle occurred, in which the valour of the Polanders, directed by the skill and judgement of Chotkiewitz, gratified Sigismund with a complete victory. He

35 Hartnoch, lib. i.—Heidenst. 36 Loccen. lib. vii.—Pufendorff.

then directed his attention toward Russia, which was in a state of disorder and confusion.

The grand duke or czar, John Basilowitz II., having occasioned by a violent blow the death of his eldest son, left only two sons when he died in 1584, of whom one was an infant. The incapacity of Theodore, the elder of the surviving princes, had induced John to select three of his *boyars*, or nobles, for the administration of the public affairs in the name of the youth; but Boris, brother-in-law to the new czar, gradually seised the whole power of the state, and acted in many instances with inhuman violence. He even murdered Demetrius, the brother of Theodore, and perhaps hastened the dissolution of the czar himself, who died in 1598. Boris took this opportunity of mounting the throne, to which he had paved his way by some popular acts. He continued to govern with a mixture of rigour and lenity; and his name was not unknown among the sovereigns of Europe, when his government was disturbed by the boldness of an ambitious monk, who, happening to resemble the unfortunate Demetrius, pretended that he had escaped the snares of the usurper, by the substitution of another youth. The adventurer was encouraged in his views by Sigismund, who promised to assist him in procuring the Russian diadem; and being furnished with an army, he defeated the troops of Boris, who, in a moment of despair, poisoned himself, or, as others say, was thrown by a transport of passion into an apoplectic fit. The usurper's son was now placed on the throne, but was quickly driven from it by the impostor, who (in 1605) was proclaimed czar with the general consent of the people, many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius[37].

If the adventurer had acted with prudence and discretion, he would probably have long preserved the power which he had so rapidly acquired. But he excited disgust

37 Tooke's *History of Russia*, vol. i.

by his uniform preference of the Polanders to his countrymen, his contempt of the Russian religion and manners, and his occasional acts of tyranny; and he lost his life in 1606, in a tumult at Moscow, where a great number of his foreign partisans were also massacred. Zuski, or Schuiskoy, his chief adversary, was permitted by the boyars to succeed him as grand-duke; but his administration was not attended with public tranquillity. A new impostor appeared, alleging that he was the czar, and had escaped the massacre. This pretender did not long flourish, being killed by some Tartars; but a more formidable rival to Schuiskoy soon presented himself. This was Ladislaus (the son of Sigismund), who, when Smolensko and other considerable towns had been reduced by the Polanders, was acknowledged as czar in 1610, by a great part of the nation; while Schuiskoy, degraded by tonsure and the cowl, was delivered up to the invaders, and thrown into a dungeon, from which he never emerged[38].

The Russians did not long submit with patience to the Polish yoke. The haughty subjects of Sigismund committed many outrages, which the Moscovites indignantly resented. Sanguinary broils convulsed the provinces; and in the capital, which the Polanders pillaged and burned, many thousands of the inhabitants were sacrificed.

Charles IX. of Sweden had so far profited by these disturbances as to obtain possession of Kexholm and Novogorod; and he even conceived the hope of procuring the Russian crown for one of his sons, if not for himself: but he died in the prosecution of his scheme, in 1611: and his crown was bestowed on his son Gustavus Adolphus, without the least regard to the preferable claim of Sigismund.

The Danes did not interfere in the disordered concerns of Russia. That nation, on the death of Christian III., had received his son Frederic II. as its sovereign, who,

38 La-Combe, *Hist. des Revolutions de l'Empire de Russie.*—Tooke, vol. i.

in 1559, subdued the Dithmarsians, a brave people of Holstein. He was for some years at war with the Swedes, against whom he was more successful than unfortunate. He was a wise and patriotic prince, and a friend to the arts and sciences. He was succeeded in 1588 by Christian IV., who, after a long interval of peace, attacked the Swedes in 1611, took Calmar by assault, and cruelly massacred the inhabitants. Peace was restored in 1613; and, in the same year, the Russians endeavoured to re-establish tranquillity in their country by the deliberate election of a new czar. Michael Romanoff, a promising youth of seventeen years of age, distantly related to the house of Ruric, was the object of general choice; and neither the Swedes nor the Polanders could drive him from the throne. Gustavus Adolphus, after some fruitless attempts for that purpose, agreed to a pacification with the czar; and Sigismund at length followed his example[39].

By assisting Gabriel Bathori, whom the celebrated Bethlem Gabor had dispossessed of Transylvania, and by other acts of interference which displeased the Porte, Sigismund exposed himself to the arms of Othman II., who, after his troops had been shamefully defeated by a small army under Zolkiewiski, took the field in person with an immense force in 1621, and assaulted the Polish entrenchments on the banks of the Niester, but was repelled with the loss of about thirty thousand men. The discouraged soltan now proposed an armistice, to which his adversary readily assented[40].

Gustavus Adolphus was a minor by the law of Sweden when he ascended the throne; but he was permitted by the states of the realm to assume the personal exercise of government. He soon signalised himself by his exploits against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown. Profiting afterwards by peace, which he had found necessary, he applied himself to the study of civil affairs; and,

39 La-Combe.—Pufendorff. 40 Bizardière.

in the course of a wise and vigorous administration, supported by salutary laws, he reformed many public abuses, improved the state of the community, and increased the respectability of the realm. His cousin Sigismund treating him as an usurper, and refusing peace, when offered by Gustavus, he over-ran Livonia, Prussia, and Lithuania[41]. An advantageous truce of six years, concluded with Poland, in 1629, gave him leisure to take part in the affairs of Germany, and to exhibit more fully those heroic qualities which will ever be the admiration of mankind.

Gustavus had various reasons for making war against the emperor. Ferdinand had assisted his enemy, the king of Poland; he treated the Swedish ambassador with disrespect; and he had formed a project for extending his dominion over the Baltic. If the king of Sweden should look tamely on, till the German princes were finally subjected, the independence of the northern kingdoms, he thought, would be exposed to great danger.

But the motives which chiefly induced Gustavus to take arms against the head of the empire were the love of glory and zeal for the Protestant religion. These, however, did not transport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He imparted his design to the states of Sweden; and he negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I., still desirous of the restoration of the Palatine, agreed to send the king of Sweden six thousand men. These troops were raised

41 Loccen. lib. viii.—Pufend. lib. ii.—During this war, the practice of duelling rose to such a height, both among officers and private men, that Gustavus published a severe edict, denouncing death against every offender: and by a strict execution of that edict the evil was effectually removed. (Harte's *Life of Gustavus*, vol. i.) When two of the generals demanded permission to decide a quarrel by the sword, he gave a seeming consent, and told them he would himself be an eye-witness of their valour and prowess. He accordingly appeared on the ground, but was accompanied by the public executioner, who had orders to cut off the head of the conqueror. The high-spirited combatants, subdued by such firmness, fell on their knees at the king's feet; were ordered to embrace, and continued friends to the end of their lives. Scheffer, *Memorand. Suec. Gent.*

in the name of the marquis of Hamilton, and supposed to be maintained by that nobleman, that the appearance of neutrality might be preserved[42]. The people were more forward than the king. The flower of Gustavus's army, and many of his best officers, by the time he entered Germany, consisted of Scottish and English adventurers, who thronged over to support the Protestant cause, and to seek renown under the champion of their religion[43]; so that the conquests even of this illustrious hero may partly be ascribed to British valour and British sagacity!

The most necessary supply, however, that Gustavus received was an annual subsidy from cardinal Richelieu of twelve hundred thousand livres; a small sum in our days, but considerable at that time, especially in a country where the precious metals are still scarce. The treaty between France and Sweden is a master-piece in politics. Gustavus agreed, in consideration of the stipulated subsidy, to maintain in Germany an army of thirty-six thousand men; bound himself to observe a strict neutrality toward the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the catholic league, on condition that they should not join the emperor against the Swedes; and to preserve the rights of the Romish church, where-ever he should find it established[44]. By these ingenious stipulations, which do so much honour to the genius of Richelieu, the catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the score of religion, but furnished with a pretext for withholding their assistance from the emperor, as a step which would expose them to the arms of Sweden.

A. D. 1631.

Gustavus had entered Pomerania when this treaty was concluded, and soon after made himself master of Colberg, Frankfort upon the Oder, and several other important places. The protestant princes, however, were still

42 Rushworth, vol. i. 43 Burnet's *Mem. of the House of Hamilton*, vol. i.
44 Londorp. *Act. Pub.* vol. iv.

backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance. In order to put an end to this irresolution, Gustavus summoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days; and on receiving an evasive answer, he marched directly to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect: the gates were thrown open, and the king was received as a friend. He was soon after joined by the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who, being persecuted by the catholic confederates, put themselves under his protection. He now marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans. The king's army consisted nearly of an equal number of men; but the Saxon auxiliaries, being raw and undisciplined, fled at the first onset; yet did Gustavus, by his superior conduct, and the superior prowess of the Swedes, obtain a complete victory over Tilly and the imperialists[45].

Sept. 7. N. S.

This blow threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation; and, if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is supposed that he could have made himself master of that capital. But it is impossible for human foresight to discern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great stroke of good fortune. Hannibal wasted his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he might have led his victorious army to Rome; and Gustavus Adolphus, instead of besieging Vienna, or ravaging the emperor's hereditary dominions, took a different route, and had the satisfaction of erecting a column on the opposite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate the progress of his arms[46].

45 Pet. Bapt. Burg. *de Bello Suecico Comment.* lib. ii.—Harte's *Life of Gustavus*, vol. ii. 46 *Mercure François.*—Harte, vol. ii.

The consequences of the battle of Leipsic, however, were great; nor did Gustavus fail to improve that victory which he had so gloriously earned. He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, whom his success had inspired with courage. The measures of the catholic confederates were utterly disconcerted; and the king of Sweden made himself master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine—a space of about ninety leagues, abounding with fortified towns.

The elector of Saxony, in the mean time, entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Count Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech: and Gustavus, who by that passage gained immortal honour, soon after reduced Augsburg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He then marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. He entered the capital in triumph, and there had an opportunity of displaying the liberality of his mind. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be described) which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdeburgh, to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes, "No!" replied he: "let us not "imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who "rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights "of conquest, in doing violence to humanity, and de-"stroying the precious monuments of art[47]."

April 15, 1632. N. S.

During these transactions, the renowned Wallestein, who had been for some time in disgrace, but was restored to the chief command with unlimited powers, soon after the defeat at Leipsic, had recovered Prague, and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremberg; but the cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king was repulsed in attempting to force his entrenchments. The action lasted

47 Harte, vol. ii.—Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*

for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack.

The king's person was in imminent danger; the Austrian cavalry sallying out furiously from their entrenchments on the right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken; and a masterly retreat alone could have saved him from a total overthrow. That service was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at this assault. To him Gustavus applied in his distress, seeing no officer of equal experience at hand, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity of spirit. He was not deceived. Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment. "This," said he (and he persevered in his resolution) "is the last time that ever I will serve "so ungrateful a prince!"—Elate with the opportunity of gathering fresh laurels, and of exalting himself in the eyes of a master, by whom he thought himself injured, he rushed into the midst of the battle, delivered the orders of the king of Sweden to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance[48].

This severe check, and happy escape from almost inevitable ruin, ought surely to have moderated the ardour of Gustavus. But it had not sufficiently that effect. In marching to the assistance of the elector of Saxony, he again gave battle to Wallestein with an inferior force, in the wide plain of Lutzen, and lost his life in a hot engagement, which terminated in the defeat of the imperial army. That engagement was attended with circumstances sufficiently memorable to merit a particular detail.

48 *Mod. Univ. Hist.* art. *Swed.* sect. viii.—This anecdote relative to Hepburn is told somewhat differently by Mr. Harte; who, jealous of the honour of his hero Gustavus, seems scrupulous in admitting the merit of the Scottish and English officers.

Soon after the king of Sweden arrived at Naumburg, he learned that Wallestein had moved his camp from Weissenfels to Lutzen; and although that movement freed him from all necessity of fighting, as it left open his way into Saxony by Degaw, he was keenly stimulated by an appetite for battle. He accordingly convened in his own apartment his two favourite generals, Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, and Kniphausen, and desired them to give their opinions freely, and without reserve. The youthful and ardent spirit of the duke, congenial to that of the king, instantly caught fire; and he declared in favour of an engagement. But Kniphausen, whose courage was matured by reflection and chastised by experience, steadily and uniformly dissuaded the king from hazarding an action at that juncture, as contrary to the true principles of military science. "No commander," said he, "ought to encounter an enemy greatly superior "to him in strength, unless compelled so to do by some "pressing necessity. Now your majesty is neither cir-"cumscribed in place, nor in want of provisions, forage, "or warlike stores[49]."

Gustavus seemed to acquiesce in the opinion of this able and experienced general; yet he was still ambitious of a new trial in arms with Wallestein. And being informed, on his nearer approach, that the imperial army had received no alarm, nor the general any intelligence of his motions, he declared his resolution of giving battle to the enemy.

That declaration was received with the strongest demonstrations of applause and the most lively expressions of joy. At one moment the whole Swedish army made its evolutions, and pointed its course towards the imperial camp. No troops were ever known to advance with so much alacrity; but their ardour was damped, and their vigour wasted, before they could reach the camp of their

49 Harte, vol. ii.

antagonists. By a mistake in computing the distance, they had eight miles to march instead of five, and chiefly through fresh-ploughed lands, the passage of which was difficult beyond description; the miry ground clinging to the feet and legs of the soldiers, and reaching, in some places, almost as high as the knee[50].

Nor were these the only difficulties the Swedes had to encounter before they arrived at Lutzen. When they came within two miles of the spot, where they hoped for a speedy termination of all their toils, they found a swamp, over which was a paltry bridge, so narrow that only two men could march over it a-breast. In consequence of this new obstacle, it was sun-set before the whole Swedish army could clear the pass; and Wallestein, having been by that time informed of the approach of Gustavus, was employed in fortifying his camp, and in taking every other measure for his own safety and the destruction of his enemy that military skill could suggest.

The situation of the king of Sweden was now truly perilous. He saw himself reduced to the necessity of giving battle under the most adverse circumstances; or of incurring the hazard of being routed in attempting a retreat with the troops fatigued, and almost fainting for want of food. Yet was a retreat thought expedient by some of his generals. But Gustavus, in a tone of decision, thus silenced their arguments:—"I cannot bear "to see Wallestein under my beard, without making "some animadversions upon him: I long to unearth him," added he, "and to behold with my own eyes how he can "acquit himself in the open field[51]."

Conformably to these sentiments, he resolved to give battle, and begin the action two hours before day. But the extreme darkness of the night rendered the execution of the latter part of his plan impracticable; and when morning began to dawn, and the Nov. 16, N.S.

50 Harte, vol. ii. 51 *Le Soldat Sued.*

sun to dispel the thick fog that had obscured the sky, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Across the line, on which the Swedish left wing proposed to advance, was cut a deep ditch too difficult for the troops to pass; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army move to the right, in order to occupy the ground which lay between the ditch and the hostile camp[52].

This movement was not made without some trouble and a considerable loss of time. When he had completed it, Gustavus ordered two hymns to be sung; and riding along the lines with a commanding air, he thus harangued his Swedish troops:—"My companions and friends! show "the world this day what you really are. Acquit your-"selves like disciplined men, who have been engaged in "service; observe your orders, and behave intrepidly, "for your own sakes as well as for mine. If you so re-"spect yourselves, you will find the blessing of Heaven "on the point of your swords, and reap deathless honour, "the sure and inestimable reward of valour. But if, on "the contrary, you give way to fear, and seek self-pre-"servation in flight, then infamy is as certainly your "portion, as my disgrace and your destruction will be "the consequence of such a conduct[53]."

The king then addressed his German allies, who chiefly composed the second line of his army; lowering the tone of his voice, and relaxing his air of authority:—"Friends, "officers, and fellow-soldiers," said he, "let me conjure "you to behave valiantly this day. You shall fight not "only under me, but with me. My blood shall mark the "path you ought to pursue. Keep firmly, therefore, "within your ranks, and second your leader with courage. "If you so act, victory is ours, with all its advantages, "which you and your posterity shall not fail to enjoy. "But if you give ground, or fall into disorder, your

52 Harte, vol. ii.

53 *Soldat Sued.—Merc. Franç.—Swedish Intelligencer.*

"liberties and lives will become a sacrifice to the "enemy[54]."

On the conclusion of these two emphatical speeches, one universal shout of applause saluted the ears of Gustavus. Having disposed his army in order of battle, that warlike monarch now took upon himself, according to custom, the particular command of the right wing, attended by the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, Crailsham, grand-master of his household, a body of English and Scottish gentlemen, and a few domestics. The action soon became general, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. But the veteran Swedish brigades of the first line, though the finest troops in the world, and esteemed *invincible*, found the passing of certain ditches, which Wallestein had ordered to be hollowed and lined with musqueteers, so exceedingly difficult, that their ardour began to abate, and they seemed to pause, when their heroic prince flew to the dangerous station; and dismounting, snatched a partizan from one of his officers, and said in an austere tone, accompanied with a stern look,—

"If, after having passed so many rivers, scaled the "walls of numberless fortresses, and conquered in various "battles, your native intrepidity hath at last deserted you, "stand firm at least for a few seconds:—have yet the cou-"rage to behold your master die—in a manner worthy of "himself!"—And he offered to cross the ditch.

"Stop, sire! for the sake of Heaven," cried all the soldiers, "spare that valuable life!—Distrust us not, and "the business shall be done[55]."

Satisfied, after such an assurance, that his brave brigades in the centre would not deceive him, Gustavus returned to the head of the right wing, and making his horse spring boldly across the last ditch, set an example of gallantry to his officers and soldiers, which they thought themselves bound to imitate.

54 Chemnitz, *de Bell. Suec. German.*

55 *Theat. Europ.* fol. 747.

Having cast his eye over the enemy's left wing that opposed him, he observed three squadrons of imperial cuirassiers, completely clothed in iron; and, calling colonel Stalhaus to him, said, "Stalhaus! charge home these "black fellows; for they are the men that will otherwise "undo us."

The colonel executed the orders of his royal master with great intrepidity and effect. But, in the mean time, about two hours after the commencement of the battle, Gustavus lost his life. He was then fighting, sword in hand, at the head of the Smaland cavalry, which closed the right flank of the centre of his army, and is supposed to have outstripped, in his ardour, the invincible brigades that composed his main body. The Swedes fought like roused lions, to revenge the death of their king: many and vigorous were their struggles; and the approach of night alone prevented Kniphausen and the duke of Saxe-Weimar from gaining a decisive victory [56].

During nine hours did the battle rage with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with greater courage than the plain of Lutzen, where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force, and almost completed its destruction. Nor could the flight of the Saxons, or the arrival of Papenheim, one of the ablest generals in the imperial service, with seven thousand fresh combatants, shake the unconquerable fortitude of the Swedes. The gallant death of that great man served but to crown their glory, and immortalise their triumph. "Tell Wallestein," said he, presuming on the consequences that would result from the death of the Swedish monarch, "that I have preserved the catholic religion, "and made the emperor a free man [57]!"—The death of Gustavus deserves more particular notice.

56 Harte, vol. ii. 57 Ricc. *de Bell. Germ.*

The king first received a ball in his left arm. This wound he disregarded for a time, still pressing on with intrepid valour. The soldiers, perceiving their leader to be wounded, expressed their sorrow on that account: "Courage, my comrades!" cried he, "the hurt is no-"thing; let us resume our ardour, and maintain the "charge[58]." At length, however, when his voice and strength began to fail, he desired the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg to convey him to some place of safety.

In that instant, as his brave associates were preparing to conduct him out of the scene of action, an imperial cavalier advanced unobserved, and crying aloud, "Long "have I sought thee!" shot Gustavus through the body with a pistol-ball[59]. But this bold champion did not long enjoy the glory of his daring exploit; for the duke's master of the horse shot him dead, with the vaunting words yet recent on his lips[60].

Piccolomini's cuirassiers now made a furious attack upon the king's companions. Gustavus was held up on his saddle for some time; but his horse, having received a wound in the shoulder, made a furious plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, threw themselves over their master's body; and one gentleman of the bed-chamber, who lay on the ground, having cried out, in order to save his sovereign's life, that he was king of Sweden, was instantly stabbed to the heart by an imperial cuirassier[61].

Gustavus being afterwards asked who he was, replied with heroic firmness and magnanimity, "I am the king of "Sweden! and seal with my blood the Protestant religion

58 *Merc. Franç.* 59 Harte, vol. ii.

60 This promptitude, and other collateral circumstances, seem to prove that the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg did not assassinate Gustavus, notwithstanding all the attempts made to criminate him.

61 Harte, vol. ii.

"and liberties of Germany." The imperialists gave him five wounds, and a bullet passed through his head; yet had he strength left to exclaim, "My God! My God!" His body was recovered by Stalhaus, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of Piccolomini, who strove to carry it off[62].

No prince, ancient or modern, seems to have possessed in so eminent a degree as Gustavus Adolphus the united qualities of the hero, the statesman, and the commander; that intuitive genius which conceives, that wisdom which plans, and that happy combination of courage and conduct which gives success to, an enterprise. Nor was the military progress of any leader ever equally rapid, under circumstances equally difficult; with an inferior force, against warlike nations and disciplined troops, commanded by able and experienced generals. His greatest fault, as a king and a commander, was an excess of valour. He usually appeared in the front of the battle, mounted on a horse of a particular colour; which, with his large and majestic stature, surpassing that of every other Swede, made him known both to friends and foes[63].

But Gustavus had other qualities beside those of the military and political kind. He was a pious Christian, a warm friend, a tender husband, a dutiful son, an affectionate father. And the sentiments suited to all these softer characters are admirably displayed, in a letter from this prince to his minister Oxenstiern, written a few days before the battle of Lutzen. "Though the cause in "which I am engaged," said he, "is just and good, yet "the event of war, on account of the vicissitudes of human affairs, must ever be deemed doubtful. Uncertain, also, is the duration of mortal life; I therefore "require and beseech you, in the name of our blessed "Redeemer! to preserve your fortitude of spirit, if events "should not proceed in perfect conformity to my wishes.

62 Harte, vol. ii. 63 Id. ibid.

"Remember, likewise," continued Gustavus, "how I "should comfort myself in regard to you, if, by divine "permission, I might live till that period when you should "have occasion for any assistance from me. Consider "me as a man, the guardian of a kingdom, who has "struggled with difficulties for twenty years, and passed "through them with reputation, by the protection and "mercy of Heaven; as a man who loved and honoured his "relatives, and who neglected life, riches, and happy "days, for the preservation and glory of his country and "faithful subjects; expecting no other recompense than to "be declared, *The prince who fulfilled the duties of that* "*station which Providence had assigned to him in this world.*

"They who survive me," added he,—"for I, like others, "must expect to feel the stroke of mortality—are, on my "account, and for other reasons, real objects of your com-"miseration:—they are of the tender and defenceless sex,—"a helpless mother who wants a guide, and an infant "daughter who needs a protector!—Natural affection "forces these lines from the hand of a son and a parent[64]."

The death of the king of Sweden presaged great alterations in the state of Europe. The elector Palatine, who had conceived hopes of being restored not only to his hereditary dominions, but to the throne of Bohemia, died soon after of chagrin. The German Protestants, now without a head, were divided into factions; the imperialists, though defeated, were transported with joy, and prepared to push the war with vigour; while the Swedes, though victorious, were overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their heroic prince, whose daughter and successor, Christina, was

64 Loccen. *Hist. Suec.*—It is not a little surprising that Gustavus, in this memorable letter, makes no mention of his beloved consort Eleonora; in parting from whom, when he began his march for Saxony, he was so much affected, that he could only say, "God bless you!"—and in bewailing whose widowed condition (his ejaculation to the Deity excepted) his last words employed—"Alas, my poor queen!" sighed he, in his dying moments:—"Alas, my poor queen!" Harte, vol. ii.

only in the seventh year of her age. A council of regency, however, being appointed, and the management of the war in Germany committed to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man of great political talents, the Protestant confederacy again wore a formidable aspect; and hostilities were prosecuted with vigour and success by the duke of Saxe-Weimar and the generals Banier and Horn. A. D. 1633.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the war became every day more burthensome and disagreeable, both to the Swedes and their German allies; and Oxenstiern, who had hitherto successfully employed his genius in finding resources for the support of the common cause, saw it in danger of sinking, when an unexpected event gave new hopes to the confederates. The emperor, jealous of the vast powers he had granted to Wallestein, whose insolence and ambition were unbounded, resolved to deprive him of the command: and that general, in order to prevent his disgrace, is said to have concerted the means of a revolt. It is at least certain, that he attempted to secure himself by winning the attachment of his soldiers; and Ferdinand, afraid of the delay of a legal trial, or having no proof of his treason, and dreading his resentment, had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of assassination[65]. A. D. 1634.

But the fall of this great man, who had chiefly obstructed the progress of the Swedish arms, both before and since the death of Gustavus, was not followed by all those advantages which the confederates expected from it. The imperialists, animated by the presence of the king of Hungary, the emperor's eldest son, who succeeded Wallestein in the command of the army, made up in

65 Barre, tome ix.—*Annal. de l'Emp.*—Harte, vol. ii.—If Wallestein had formed any treasonable design, it seems to have been after he discovered his ruin to be otherwise inevitable. He was too great and haughty for a subject; and the death of Gustavus had rendered him less necessary to the emperor.

valour what their general wanted in experience. Twenty thousand Spaniards and Italians arrived in Germany under the duke of Feria; the cardinal infant, the new governor of the Low Countries, likewise brought a reinforcement to the Catholic cause; the duke of Lorrain, a soldier of fortune, joined the king of Hungary with ten thousand men; and the duke of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, also found himself under the necessity of uniting his forces to those of the emperor.

Banier, Horn, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar, maintained a superiority on the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube; and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. Horn and the duke united their forces, in order to oppose the progress of the king of Hungary, who had made himself master of Ratisbon. They came up with him near Nordlingen, where ensued one of the most obstinate and bloody battles recorded in history, in which the Swedes were totally routed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts[66]. In vain did the duke remind them of Leipsic and Lutzen: though a consummate general, he wanted that all-inspiring energy of Gustavus, which communicated his own heroism to his troops, and made them irresistible, unless when opposed to insuperable bulwarks.

Sep. 6, N.S.

This defeat threw the members of the evangelical union into the utmost consternation and despair. They accused the Swedes, whom they had lately extolled as their deliverers, of all the calamities which they felt or dreaded; and the emperor, taking advantage of these discontents and his own success, did not fail to divide the confederates yet more by negotiation. The elector of Saxony first deserted the alliance; and a treaty with the court of Vienna, to the following purport, was at length signed at Prague, by all the Protestant princes, except the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. "The Protestants shall

A. D. 1635.

66 Loccen. lib. ix.—Pufend. lib. vi.

"for ever retain the mediate ecclesiastical benefices [*such* "*as did not depend immediately upon the emperor*], seised "before the pacification of Passau; and they shall retain "for the space of forty years the immediate benefices, "though seised since the treaty of Passau, if actually en- "joyed before the twelfth day of November, 1627: the "exercise of the Protestant religion shall be freely per- "mitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the "kingdom of Bohemia and the provinces belonging to "the house of Austria: the duke of Bavaria shall be main- "tained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition of "paying the jointure of Frederic's widow, and granting "a proper subsistence to his son, when he shall return to "his duty; and there shall be, between the emperor and "the confederates of the Augsburgh confession, who "shall sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing "taken since the irruption of Gustavus into the em- "pire[67]."

In consequence of this pacification, almost the whole weight of the war devolved upon the Swedes and the French; and Louis, in consequence of a new treaty with the court of Stockholm, sent an army into Germany, to support the duke of Saxe-Weimar. But the success of these new hostilities must furnish the subject of another letter.

67 Londorp. *Act. Pub.* vol. iv.—Du Mont, *Corp. Diplom.* tome v.

LETTER LXXVII.

A general View of the European Continent, from the Treaty of of Prague, in 1635, to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

WHILE Germany was a scene of war and desolation, cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Though hated both by the nobility and the people, he continued to hold the reins of government. Several conspiracies were formed against him, at the instigation of the duke of Orléans and the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was banished; her son Gaston was obliged to beg his life; the mareschals Marillas and Montmorency were brought to the block; and the gibbets were frequently loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by the most arbitrary sentences, and in a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies. In order to render himself more necessary to the throne, as well as to complete his political scheme, he now resolved to engage France in open hostilities with the whole house of Austria; and had this step been taken while the Swedish power was unbroken, and the Protestant princes were united, it could not have failed of extraordinary success. But Richelieu's jealousy of Gustavus prevented him, during the life of that monarch, from joining the arms of France to those of Sweden; and Oxenstiern, before the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen, was unwilling to give the French any footing in Germany. That overthrow altered his sentiments; he offered to put Louis immediately in possession of Philipsburgh and the province of Alsace, on condition that France should take an active part in the

war against the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a proposal that corresponded so entirely with his views. He also concluded an alliance with the United Provinces, in the hope of sharing the Low Countries; and he sent a herald to Brussels, in the name of his master, to denounce war against Spain[1]. A treaty was at the same time concluded with the duke of Savoy, to strengthen the French interest in Italy.

If France had not taken a decided part in the war, the treaty of Prague would have completed the destruction of the Swedish forces in Germany. But Louis, or rather cardinal Richelieu, now began to levy troops with great diligence, and five considerable armies were soon in the field. The first and largest of these marched into the Low Countries, under the mareschals de Chatillon and Brezé; the second, commanded by the duke de la Force, entered Lorrain; the third took the route of the duchy of Milan, under the mareschal de Crequi; the duke of Rohan led the fourth into the Valteline; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine, under the duke of Saxe-Weimar. In order to oppose the operations of the French on the side of Lorrain, the emperor sent thither general Galas, an experienced officer, at the head of a powerful army, to join the duke of that territory, who intended to besiege Colmar, and had already taken some towns in its neighbourhood. The design against Colmar, however, was defeated by the severity of the season; and La Force obliged the duke of Lorrain to abandon Burgundy, which he had entered in the spring, with a view of reducing Montbelliard. This check, and the fatigues of his march, so diminished the duke's army, that he was not able during the campaign to attempt any new enterprise.

1 Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*—This is said to have been the last declaration of war made by a herald at arms. Since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish a declaration at home, without sending into an enemy's country a cartel of defiance.

Galas, the imperial general, having fixed his head-quarters at Worms, sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprise the towns that were garrisoned by the Swedes. Mentz was blocked up by count Mansfeld[2]; and although the preservation of the place was of the utmost consequence to the confederates, as it secured their communication with both sides of the Rhine, the duke of Saxe-Weimar was in no condition to raise the blockade. He was still more interested in preserving Keysers-lauter, where he had deposited all the booty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. That place, however, though defended with such obstinacy that a greater part of the garrison had fallen in the breach, during the different assaults which it had sustained, was taken by storm, before the duke could afford it relief. Galas, who had reduced it, afterwards invested Deux-Ponts; but Weimar's army being reinforced with eighteen thousand French under the cardinal de la Valette, the imperial general was obliged to abandon his undertaking. Mansfeld's lines were also forced, and supplies thrown into Mentz[3].

While the confederates lay under the cannon of that city, Galas assembled an army of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Worms; and by sending detachments to occupy Saarbruck, and several other places, reduced the French and Swedes to the greatest extremity for want of provisions. In this emergency they repassed the Rhine at Bingen, on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been for Coblentz, though their real design was to reach Vaudervange, where there was a French garrison. With this view they marched night and day, without refreshment or repose; yet Galas, who had crossed the Rhine at Worms, in order to harass them in their retreat, overtook them with

2 Not the general who, at the beginning of the thirty-years' war, acted on the side of the Protestants.

3 Barre, tome ix.—Pufend. lib. viii.

his cavalry at the river Glann, between Odernheim and Messenheim, where the imperialists were repulsed. Not discouraged by this check, Galas, at the head of nine thousand horse, traversed the duchy of Deux-Ponts, entered Lorrain, and waited for the confederates in a defile between Vaudervange and Boulai. There an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the imperial cavalry were routed. The French afterwards retired to Pont-à-Mousson, and the Swedes to Moyenvic, with the wreck of their several armies; which, although victorious, were both greatly reduced[4].

The French and their allies had no reason to boast of their success in other quarters. Nothing effectual was done in Italy, where the duke of Parma had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the greater part of his dominions by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the efforts of Crequi and the duke of Savoy, who, in one battle, gained a considerable advantage over the enemy. In the Low Countries, where the highest hopes had been formed, the disappointment of cardinal Richelieu was particularly great. He had computed on the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and a scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the duchy of Luxemburg, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Artois, and Flanders, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the lordship of Mechlin, and other territories, were to be annexed to the republic of Holland. This scheme, however, proved as vain as it was ambitious. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of France; and the prince of Orange had a personal pique againt the cardinal. Therefore, although the mareschals Brezé and Chatillon were so fortunate as to defeat the Flemish army detached by the cardinal infant to give them battle, before their junction with the forces of the United Provinces, nothing of consequence was ef-

4 Barre, tome ix.

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fected after that junction was formed. The French commanders were under the necessity of leading back the miserable remains of their army, wasted with fatigue and disease; and the prince of Orange spent the latter part of the campaign in recovering the strong fortress of Schenck, which had been reduced by the enemy. Nor was this all: the cardinal infant perceiving that, in consequence of the many designs formed on all sides, the frontier of Picardy lay in a manner open, sent an army under the celebrated generals Piccolomini and John de Weert to enter France on that side. This army took La Chapelle, Catelet, and Corbie; and the Parisians, by the approach of the enemy within thr days' march of their gates, were thrown into the utmost consternation: but, by the vigorous measures of Richelieu, fifty thousand men were quickly assembled, and the Spaniards and Flemings found themselves obliged to evacuate France[5].

Having surmounted this danger, the French minister took the most effectual steps to secure the success of the ensuing campaign. To recover the friendship of Henry prince of Orange, whom he had offended by his haughtiness, he honoured him with the title of *Highness* instead of *Excellency*,—a flattery which had the desired effect. And he concluded a treaty with the duke of Saxe-Weimar, in which it was stipulated, that in consideration of an annual subsidy, the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the German princes in alliance with the French king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance; and that Louis should cede in his favour all the claims of France to Alsace. In

A.D. 1636. pursuance of this treaty, the duke being joined by a French army, under the cardinal de la Valette, began the campaign with the siege of Saverne. The place made a gallant defence, in hopes of being relieved

5 Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*

by Galas, who had promised to march against the besiegers. Perceiving, however, the impracticability of such an attempt, Galas made an irruption into Franche-Comté, in conjunction with the duke of Lorrain. Having reduced Saverne, Weimar omitted nothing that could obstruct or harass the imperialists in their march: and his endeavours were so successful, that Galas lost about seven thousand men before he entered Burgundy. He continued his march nevertheless, and undertook the siege of St. Jean de Laune, which he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the adjacent rivers; and being pursued by the viscount de Turenne, he lost about five thousand men, and the greater part of his baggage, in his retreat [6].

In Upper Germany, an important battle was fought between the Swedes under Banier, and the imperialists commanded by the elector of Saxony. After watching the motions of each other for some time, they halted in the plains of Wislock. The imperial camp was pitched on an eminence, and fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the troops stood ready to engage. Desirous of drawing the enemy from that advantageous post, Banier ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish. This feint having in some measure the intended effect, he ordered colonel Gun, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, to attack the enemy, and advanced himself at the head of five brigades to support that wing; while general Statens, with the left wing, wheeled round the hill, to charge the imperialists in flank. These attacks were executed with vigour and success. Five thousand Austrians and Saxons were slain; three thousand were wounded, and nearly an equal number became prisoners [7].

This engagement, which restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, raised Banier to the highest degree of military reputation, and gave a signal blow to the imperial

6 Pufend. lib. viii.—Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*

7 Pufend, lib. viii.—Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*

power, was soon followed by the demise of Ferdinand. He died at Vienna, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. The accession of this prince made little alteration in the state of the war: for although the first year of the new reign was distinguished by no memorable enterprise, the greater part of it being wasted in fruitless negotiations, the next campaign was remarkably active and bloody; as if the contending powers had only been resting, in order to renew with more destructive rage the work of death. The duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had already fully revenged the injuries of his family upon the house of Austria, advanced toward Rhinfeld early in the spring, and besieged it in form. The defence was so obstinate, that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of valour and military skill, the imperialists had time to come to its relief, under general Savelli and John de Weert. Weimar's right wing now fell with such fury upon the enemy's left, that it was quickly broken. The duke's left wing was not equally successful. On the contrary, it was repulsed; but he collected his cavalry, and repeated the charge with such vigour, that his adversaries must have been totally routed, had they not retired under cover of the night. The battle was renewed on the following day, when the defeat of the imperialists was completed, with the capture of both their generals, and a great number of inferior officers [8].

Feb. 1637.

A.D. 1638.

The duke, after his victory, returned to the siege of Rhinfeld, to which he granted an honourable capitulation, in consideration of its gallant defence. Neuburg, Rotelen, and Freyburg, were also reduced; and the siege of Brisac was undertaken, with the greatest confidence of success. Here the duke of Lorrain, and Götz the imperial general, attempted to interrupt Weimar's career, by

8 Pufend. lib. viii.—Barre, tome ix.

attacking his entrenchments, but without effect. They always found him upon his guard; and Brisac was forced to surrender, after it had been reduced to such extremity by famine, that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying-places, in order to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead [9].

The news of this important conquest no sooner reached Paris, than Louis formed the scheme of annexing Brisac to the crown of France, and made Weimar very advantageous proposals on the subject. But that negotiation, if prosecuted, would have proved very difficult, as the duke had set his heart upon the county of Brisgaw, which he meant to keep in his own possession, that it might be a thorn in the side of the house of Austria, against which his hatred was inextinguishable, on account of the indignities offered to his ancestor John Frederick by the emperor Charles V. He thought the conquest of Brisac would secure Brisgaw, where he intended to form an establishment that would not easily be shaken. He therefore gallantly replied, when pressed by the French minister to explain himself on this point: "To part with my conquest, "would be to sacrifice my honour: would you ask a virgin to surrender her chastity?" He amused the court of France, however, with a pretended negotiation, which was managed with so much dexterity by Erlach, his lieutenant, that Louis agreed to furnish him with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing had been concluded with regard to Brisac [10].

While the duke of Saxe-Weimar thus triumphed over the imperialists in Brisgaw, Banier was successful in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Wislock, he reduced Gartz, Demmin, and Wolgast; and, understanding that Galas had extended his army, he sent a reconnoitring detachment, which surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of imperial horse. But Charles Louis,

9 *Mercure de France.* 10 Barre, tome ix.—Harte, vol. i.

prince Palatine (son of the expelled elector), who had assembled some troops, and burned with impatience to re-establish himself by the sword, was less fortunate in Westphalia. Count Hasfeld, the emperor's lieutenant-general in that province, advanced against him with a powerful army, in order to raise the siege of Lemgow. Charles, sensible that he was in no condition to defend his lines against such a force, retreated towards Minden; but Hasfeld coming up with him in the valley of Astheim, an action ensued, in which victory continued long doubtful, but at last declared in favour of the imperialists. The Palatine's little army was almost utterly cut off, his artillery was lost, and his brother Robert made prisoner[11].

A.D. 1639.

In the beginning of the next campaign, the two victorious commanders, Banier and Weimar, concerted measures for penetrating into the heart of the Austrian dominions. Banier accordingly crossed the Elbe, and made an irruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halberstadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind him, he pushed on with his cavalry; surprised Salis, grand master of the imperial ordnance, in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz; and cut off six regiments of imperialists. He then entered Saxony, and advanced as far as the suburbs of Dresden; where he defeated four Saxon regiments, and obliged a larger body of the enemy to take refuge under the cannon of that city. But understanding that count Hasfeld was marching to interrupt his operations, he returned towards Zeitz, to join his infantry. While he remained there, intelligence was brought to him, that the Saxons were encamped near Chemnitz, where they expected soon to be joined by the army under Hasfeld. To prevent that junction, he attacked the Saxon army; and after a terrible conflict, obtained a complete victory. This success was followed by other advantages. He invaded Bohemia, and laid great part of the country under contri-

11 Id. ibid.

bution; then returning, crossed the Elbe, and fell upon general Hofskirk, encamped near Brandeiz. The action was maintained with great obstinacy: both sides fought with remarkable intrepidity; but, at length, the imperialists were constrained to yield to the superior fortune of the Swedes, with the loss of two thousand men. Banier pursued them to the walls of Prague, and took the imperial generals, Hofskirk and Montecuculi, prisoners.

That he might carry the war into Silesia and Moravia, the Swedish general repassed the Elbe, but did not meet with the success he expected. The enemy's forces multiplied daily; and it was impossible for him, with an inferior army, to succour every place that required his protection. The Protestants had promised him great assistance, but they were over-awed by the presence of the imperial troops. No insurrection appeared in his favour; yet was he not discouraged. He defeated a body of imperialists at Glatz, and drove the Saxons three times from their camp at Tirn [12].

But the aspiring hopes of Banier and the Swedes were suddenly blasted by the death of Bernard duke of Saxe-Weimar. He had commenced the campaign with the siege of Thau, which he ordered to be battered with red-hot bullets; a mode of attack which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered almost instantly, though they had before baffled all the efforts of Guebriant the French general. Bernard's character was now so high, and his army so formidable to the imperial throne, that Ferdinand made some secret attempts to detach him from the French interest. But instead of listening to such proposals, which he considered as insidious, or slackening in his operations, he vigorously exerted himself in taking measures for passing the Rhine. While thus employed, he fell sick at Huningen, whence he was transported by water to Neuburg, and there expired in the thirty- July 18, N.S.
sixth year of his age. He is supposed to have fallen

12 Pufend. lib. xi.—Loccen. lib. ix.

a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of Richelieu, who was not only desirous of getting possession of Brisac, but apprehended that his scheme of humbling the house of Austria might be defeated, if the duke should close with the emperor's proposals. Pufendorff not only supports this opinion, but positively affirms, that the duke was taken off by poison, and that his body had all the marks of it [13].

His death was no sooner known, than a violent contest arose for the possession of his army. Endeavours were used by the Swedish agents in Germany to engage the officers and soldiers to join general Banier: the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places which the duke had conquered; and the prince Palatine, the re-establishment of whose family had been the chief cause of the war, attempted to gain them through the influence of England and Holland. But cardinal Richelieu ordered the prince to be arrested at Moulins, in his return from London, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes, where he was confined, till a treaty was concluded between France and the Weimarian officers.

A. D. 1640.

It was stipulated that the duke's soldiers should constitute a separate body, under the direction of the officers named in his will for that purpose; that the French king should keep this body always effective, by the payment of a certain annual sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the principal officers the same appointments which they had enjoyed under the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessaries of war, and ratify the several donations which Bernard had made to his officers and soldiers; that the troops should receive their orders from the duke of Longueville, through the medium of their own commanders, who should be summoned to all councils convened for the service of the common cause; that the conquered places should be put into

13 *Comment. de Reb. Suec.* lib. xi. sect. 39.

the hands of the French king, who might at pleasure appoint governors for Brisac and Freyburg, but that the garrison should consist of an equal number of French and German soldiers, and the governors of the other places be chosen from the Weimarian army[14].

In consequence of this important negotiation, which rendered the king of France sovereign of almost all Alsace and a great part of Brisgaw, the duke of Longueville, with the Weimarian army, mareschal Guebriant, with the French troops, and the troops of Lunenburg, commanded by general Klitzing, joined Banier at Erfort. Nothing farther was necessary to ensure success to the confederates beside unanimity; but that unfortunately did not attend their operations. All claiming superiority, none chose to be directed, as each entertained a high opinion of his own merit, and sought to display his judgement by proposing some new plan of operations; so that Banier found, that, although he had increased his numbers, he had acquired little additional strength. Perhaps his real force might rather be said to be diminished, as he was no longer allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius, and strike those unexpected blows which distinguish the consummate general.

After long debates, it was agreed to attack Piccolomini, the imperial general, in his camp at Saltzburg. With this view the confederates seised an eminence, whence they began a violent cannonading, and afterwards attacked the enemy's entrenchments sword in hand; but Piccolomini was so advantageously posted, that the attempt to force his camp was found impracticable. It was accordingly laid

14 Londorp. *Act. Pub*. vol. iv.—The duke of Saxe-Weimar was a soldier of fortune, and one of the generals formed under Gustavus. After the death of that monarch, and the destructive battle of Nordlingen, where the Swedish infantry were cut off almost to a man, he collected a German army, which was properly his own, and which he supported partly by the practice of war, and partly by the subsidy that he received from France. Notwithstanding his immature death, and the defeat at Nordlingen, he may be ranked among the greatest modern commanders. Turenne always acknowledged him to have been his master in the military science. *Mém. de la Fare*.

aside; and both armies continued in sight of each other, until scarcity began to reign in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry, who could longest endure the pressure of famine. But, on the side of the confederates, this inaction proceeded from irresolution, and a division of counsels; whereas, on that of the imperialists, it was dictated by a prudent caution. Weary of such languid delay, Banier set out for Franconia, in order to seise some advantageous post upon the Maine. But as he advanced toward the river Sala, he perceived that the enemy occupied the opposite bank. They were there so strongly entrenched, that it was impossible for him to force a passage: he was therefore under the necessity of marching through the landgraviate of Hesse, where his army suffered greatly by famine.

Piccolomini now endeavoured to penetrate into Lunenburg; but Banier's diligence baffled all his efforts. He prevented the imperialists from crossing the Weser, and refreshed his own army in that duchy, which had not yet been exhausted by the ravages of war. Pinched with famine, and harassed by the perpetual alarms of the Hessians, Piccolomini determined to lead his forces into Franconia. But, on his march thither, he was attacked by the Weimarian army; and, although not totally defeated, he could scarcely have suffered more by such a disaster [15]. It must, however, be considered as very honourable for that general, to have been able to make head against the combined forces of the confederates, and even to oblige them to quit the imperial dominions.

The house of Austria was less fortunate in other quarters, during the year 1460. The affairs of Philip IV. declined in Italy: Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke. The Catalans were desirous of forming a republic, but, too feeble to support themselves against the power of a tyrannical master, they were obliged to throw themselves into the arms of France, and ultimately

15 Pufend. lib. xii.—Barre, tome ix.

to submit to the dominion of Spain. The Portuguese were more successful in their struggle for independence. Inflamed with national animosity, and irritated by despotic rule, they had long sought to break their chains. A law to compel the nobility, under pain of the forfeiture of their estates, to take up arms for the subjection of Catalonia, completed the general disaffection: and other circumstances conspired to hasten a revolution. A plot had been in agitation, above three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. The conspirators now resolved to carry their design into execution, and effected it with incredible facility. Olivarez had been so imprudent as to recall the Spanish garrison from Lisbon: very few troops were left in Portugal; the oppressed people were ripe for an insurrection; and the Spanish minister, to amuse the duke of Braganza, whose ruin he meditated, had given him the command of the arsenal. The duchess of Mantua, who had been honoured with the empty title of vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom without a blow. Vasconcellos, the Spanish secretary, and one of his clerks, were the only victims sacrificed to public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of the capital, and almost on the same day. The duke of Braganza was unanimously proclaimed king, under the name of John IV. A son does not succeed more quietly to the possessions of his father in a well-regulated state. Ships were immediately dispatched from Lisbon to all the Portuguese settlements in Asia and Africa, as well as to those in the islands of the eastern and western ocean; and they all, with one accord, expelled their Spanish governors [16]. Portugal became again an independent kingdom; and by the recovery of Brasil, which, during the Spanish administration, had been conquered by the Dutch, its former lustre was in some measure restored.

16 Vertot, *Hist. des Révolut. de Portugal.*

While all Europe rang with the news of this singular revolution, Philip IV., shut up in the inmost recesses of the Escurial, lost in the delirium of licentious pleasure, or bewildered in the maze of idle amusement, was utterly ignorant of it. The manner in which Olivarez made him acquainted with his misfortune is truly memorable. "I "come," said that artful minister, "to communicate "good news to your majesty: the whole fortune of the "duke of Braganza is become yours. He has been so "presumptuous as to get himself declared king of Portu-"gal; and, in consequence of this folly, your majesty is "entitled to the forfeiture of all his estates."—"Let the "sequestration be ordered!" replied Philip, and continued his dissipations [17].

The emperor Ferdinand III. was of a less patient, or rather of a less indolent temper. He had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, to concert measures for carrying on the war, though he pretended to be desirous of peace. Banier formed the design of dispersing this assembly, and even of surprising the city. Having joined the French army under Guebriant at Erfort, he soon arrived at Hoff, and detaching thence five regiments of cavalry to Egra, under the command of major-general Wittemberg, who had orders to join the army at Porew, he advanced to Awerbach. The confederates then proceeded to Schwendorff, crossed the Danube upon the ice, and captured above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself, who intended to devote that day to the chase, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His advanced guard and equipage were taken.

A.D. 1641.

The approach of the French and Swedish armies filled Ratisbon with consternation, as it was utterly unprovided against a siege, and full of strangers and suspected persons. The design of the confederates was to take advantage of the frost, in order to block up and starve the town;

17 *Anecdotes du Duc d'Olivarez.*

but the weather unexpectedly becoming more mild, it was resolved to repass the Danube, before the ice should be thawed. Banier, however, would not retire before he had made an attempt to dissolve the diet. With that view, he approached Ratisbon; and Guebriant, who commanded the vanguard, placing his artillery on the banks of the Rugen, which ran between the town and the confederates, saluted the emperor with five hundred shot; an insult which stung Ferdinand so keenly, that he seemed bereft of all the powers of reason and recollection.

During the deliberations of the diet, the counts D'Avaux and Salvius, the plenipotentiares of France and Sweden, were negotiating at Hamburg the preliminaries of a general peace with Lutzau, one of Ferdinand's aulic counsellors. After certain difficulties had been removed, it was agreed by these celebrated statesmen, that a congress for a general peace should be holden at Munster and Osnabrug, the garrisons of which should march out; that the inhabitants should be released from their oath of allegiance to either party, and observe a strict neutrality during the time of negotiation; that both towns should be guarded by their own burghers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, persons, and attendants of the negotiators; that the two conferences should be considered as only one congress, and the roads between the two cities be safe for all; that if the negotiation should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, Munster and Osnabrug should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress, but that the neutrality should be observed six weeks after the conferences were broken off; that all the safe-conducts on each side should be exchanged at Hamburg, through the mediation of the Danish ambassador, within two months after the date of the agreement; that the emperor and king of Spain should grant safe-conducts to the ministers of France, Sweden, and their allies in Germany and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his

Most Christian majesty; and that the Swedish court should grant safe-conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, as well as to those of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg [18]. It was farther agreed, that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnabrug; and that each crown should have a secretary where the other's plenipotentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions.

The emperor refused to ratify this convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interests of the Germanic body; and some unexpected events, injurious to the cause of the confederates, confirmed him in his resolution of continuing the war. After the ineffectual attempt upon Ratisbon, the French, separating from the Swedes, marched towards Bamberg, under Guebriant, and Banier took the route of Cham, with a view of penetrating into Misnia through Bohemia; while the emperor, inflamed with rage, issued orders for assembling troops with all possible dispatch, to revenge the insult he had suffered.

A powerful army being speedily formed, one part of it, under mareschal Gleen, went in pursuit of Banier, while the other, commanded by Piccolomini, besieged Neuburg, which was defended by an officer of the name of Slang; who, after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender the place. Piccolomini then rejoined Gleen, in order to pursue Banier, who retreated across the forest of Bohemia. Having reached the other side of it, he found his progress impeded by the swelling of the river Pleis, but collected a number of boats, in which he embarked his troops with such expedition, that he had carried over his whole army before Piccolomini appeared upon the opposite bank. Neither the interposing stream, however, nor the presence of the enemy, retarded the progress of the imperialists. The Austrian cavalry swam across the river; and the Swedes being now hemmed in between the Pleis

18 Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tome vi.

and the Moldaw, Banier's ruin seemed inevitable, when he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius which redound more to the honour of a general than the acquisition of the greatest victory, as fortune has no share in the success.

Finding himself thus circumstanced, the Swedish general posted some troops at a mill below Presnitz; where they made such an obstinate and vigorous resistance, when attacked by Piccolomini, that the main body of the army had time to retire to Zickaw, whither their baggage and artillery also were conveyed in the night. Here Banier was joined by Guebriant, who had put himself in motion, as soon as he received intelligence of the reduction of Neuburg; so that the confederates were now in a condition to make head against the imperialists. But before any step could be taken for that purpose, Banier was seised with a fever at Zickaw, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in his march, and expired at Halberstadt, in the forty-first year of his age, to the inexpressible regret of his country, as well as of her allies. Besides his knowledge in the art of war, which he had acquired under the great Gustavus, to whom he was scarcely inferior as a commander, he was distinguished by his moderation and humanity towards those whom he had vanquished. He always avoided the effusion of blood, as far as circumstances would permit; and, being robust, patient, indefatigable, and active, he was adored by the soldiery, whose toils and dangers he cheerfully shared [19].

The death of Banier raised the spirits of the imperialists, in proportion as it depressed those of the confederates, and the most dangerous consequences were apprehended from it; for his army chiefly consisted of Germans, who were retained in the service of Sweden solely by the reputation and authority of their general. But the troops, though at first inclined to mutiny, were preserved in obedience by the vigilance of the other Swedish commanders,

19 Pufend. *Comment. de Rebus. Suec.* lib. xii.

Wrangel, Köningsmark, Wittemberg, and Pfuhl, notwithstanding the solicitations of the emperor, and their own necessitous condition, until the arrival of Torstenson—another general formed under Gustavus, and not unworthy of such a master. That he might have greater influence over the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money from the treasury of Sweden, and a considerable reinforcement.

Before this reinforcement arrived, the allies under the command of Guebriant, had defeated the imperial army, led by the archduke Leopold and Piccolomini, near Wolfenbuttel. Four thousand imperialists were slain, and a great number taken prisoners [20]. No other event of consequence distinguished the latter part of the campaign, which was chiefly spent in waiting for Torstenson, at an encampment near Stadt; and, soon after he had assumed the command, the French and Swedish armies separated, by order of cardinal Richelieu. Guebriant entered Westphalia, and Torstenson led his troops into Bohemia, where he proposed to winter, and attempt, in another season, to prove himself worthy of the confidence of his country.

A new treaty being concluded between France and Sweden, the most vigorous resolutions were taken for prosecuting the war. Guebriant crossed the Rhine early in the spring, upon a bridge of boats, built at Wesel; marched to Ordingen, which surrendered at discretion; and understanding that Hasfeld was on his march to join Lamboy, whose quarters were near Kempen, he resolved to prevent their junction, by attacking the latter in his entrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at Ordingen, advanced toward the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the assault. After an obstinate struggle, the camp was forced; and Lamboy, who rallied his troops and returned to the charge, was surrounded and made prisoner, together with general Merci. Of his whole force not above six hundred escaped.

A. D. 1642.

20 Barre, tome ix.—Pufend. lib. xiii.

This victory was followed by the reduction of Lintz, Bevert, Berthem, and other towns; and Guebriant saw himself master, in a short time, of almost the whole electorate of Cologne. His next step was to besiege Kempen, which was defended with great gallantry and skill; but a large breach being at length made in the fortifications, the governor, convinced that it would be impossible to sustain an assault, capitulated upon honourable terms[21].

The defeat of Lamboy, and the rapid success of the French general, did not, however, divert the archduke and Piccolomini, who commanded the imperialists in Moravia, from marching against Torstenson. They intended to surprise him in his camp; but, all their attempts and expectations being defeated by the vigilance of the Swedish general, Piccolomini, in the true spirit of Italian policy, had recourse to treachery, by which he hoped to earn the reward of valour and military skill. With this view he corrupted one Seckendorf, a Swedish colonel, who promised to admit the imperialists into the camp by night. Fortunately the scheme was discovered, and the traitor punished: nor did his employers escape chastisement. The duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who had marched towards Schwentz, in order to check the progress of Torstenson in Silesia, was defeated and mortally wounded; and in that condition was taken prisoner with the greater part of his officers, three thousand of his men being left dead on the field.

Soon after this victory, Torstenson passed the Elbe, with an intention of besieging Leipsic; and having seised two posts, the possession of which might facilitate that enterprise, he ordered Köningsmark to invest the place. But the approach of the archduke and Piccolomini induced him to convert the siege into a blockade, and make preparations for receiving the enemy. They advanced in such a

21 Barre, tome ix.—Pufend. lib. xiii.

form, that the Swedes were between the imperial army and the town; and Torstenson, finding himself exposed to two fires, filed off his troops into the plain of Breitenfeld. The imperial generals, imagining that his design was to avoid an action, endeavoured to harass his rear; but the Swedish commander, who wished for nothing more than such an opportunity, faced about immediately. A mutual cannonading ensued, and, soon after, a close engagement. Wittemberg, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, charged the left of the imperialists with such impetuosity, that it was instantly broken. Their right wing, however, behaved in a more spirited manner; and the Swedish cavalry, commanded by Köningsmark, were in danger, for a time, of being routed by the emperor's cuirassiers: but the latter were at length obliged to give way.

While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the centre fought with inexpressible rage and resolution. At length the Swedish foot, animated by the example of the horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of the action, obliged the imperialists to quit the field, and retreat into a wood, with the loss of their cannon. Torstenson pursued the left wing as far as Leipsic; Köningsmark gave no quarter to the right; and the Austrian infantry being driven from the wood, into which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces[22].

In this battle, which was fought near the same spot that had beheld the glory of the Swedes under Gustavus a few years before, the imperialists lost five thousand good soldiers; and three hundred officers were found among the slain. The conquerors, who had engaged with very inferior numbers, did not lose above fifteen hundred men. Besides the slaughter of the enemy, they took three thousand prisoners, with forty-six pieces of cannon,

22 Pufend. lib. xiv.—Barre, tome ix.

one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, and six hundred waggons[23].

A defeat so total overwhelmed the imperial court with consternation. General Enkenford was ordered to make new levies with all possible expedition; and all the troops in the Austrian service were collected to stop the progress of the victorious Torstenson. That general had again invested Leipsic, and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place was under the necessity of surrendering, notwithstanding the valour of the garrison, which excited the admiration of the besiegers. Torstenson was less fortunate in his attempt upon Fridburg, where he understood the enemy had collected large magazines: for although considerable breaches were made in the fortifications, and an assault given, the garrison sustained it with such unshaken resolution, that he was obliged to recall his troops: and while he was making preparations for a final effort, he learned that Piccolomini, at the head of a considerable army, was approaching to the relief of the place. On this intelligence he ranged his troops in order of battle, and put himself in motion to meet the enemy; but Piccolomini, penetrating his design, took a different route, threw supplies into the town, and retired with the utmost expedition. Now despairing of being able to reduce Fridburg, Torstenson marched into Lusatia, to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from Pomerania and Lower Saxony; and Guebriant, having passed the Maine at Gemund, established quarters of refreshment on the Taubet, and marched toward the Necker[24].

While the confederates were thus making progress in Germany, the arms of France were equally successful on the side of Spain. A French army had entered Roussillon, and reduced Colioure and Perpignan. In the mean time, the affairs of the kingdom were in the greatest confusion,

23 Pufend. lib. xiv.—Barre, tome ix. 24 Id. ibid.

and Paris itself was in danger. Francisco de Melo, a man of valour and abilities, who had succeeded the cardinal infant in the government of the Low Countries, having suddenly assembled a body of twenty-five thousand men, threatened France with two inroads; routed the count de Guiche, who attempted to oppose him, and would have appeared before the capital, to which he had opened a passage, had he not received a letter from Olivarez, ordering him to withdraw his troops, under pretence that the enterprise was too hazardous. But the true reason for this order was a secret treaty between the Spanish minister and the duke of Orléans, who, with the duke de Bouillon, Cinq-mars, master of the horse, and M. de Thou, had conspired the ruin of Richelieu, whom they had already brought into discredit with the king.

Fortunately, however, for the cardinal, whose life was at once in danger from violence and disease, he gained intelligence of the treaty with Spain, nearly at the same time that Louis received the news of Guiche's defeat. In the perplexity occasioned by that disaster, the king paid a visit to Richelieu. The cardinal complained of ill usage; Louis confessed his weakness; a reconciliation took place, and the conspirators were arrested. The duke of Orléans was disgraced; Cinq-mars and De Thou lost their heads; and the duke of Bouillon, in order to save his life, was obliged to yield up the principality of Sedan to the crown[25]. Thus victorious over all his enemies, Richelieu, though still on the verge of the grave, entered Paris in a kind of triumph, a breach being made in the walls, in order to admit the superb litter on which he was carried. While on his way, and hardly able to hold the pen, he wrote to the king the following short letter, which is highly expressive of his haughty character: "Your enemies are "dead, and your troops in possession of Perpignan[26]!"

25 Batt. Nani, lib. xii.

26 Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Rich.*—*Mém. de Madame de Motteville.*

So many losses, the confederates expected, would have disposed the house of Austria sincerely to listen to terms of accommodation; but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid foresaw that France and Sweden, at such a juncture, would necessarily be high in their demands, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. It was at length, however, agreed to open the conferences for a general peace, in the month of July the year following; and the preliminaries being published, all the unhappy people who had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of tranquillity, when the death of cardinal Richelieu, and also of his master Louis, once more discoloured the scene. The Swedes, who were doubtful of the politics of the new administration, began to think of concluding a separate treaty with the emperor. But their fears were soon dispelled by the steady measures of cardinal Mazarine, who showed himself no unworthy successor of Richelieu, whose plan he pursued with vigour. All the operations of war were concerted with as much judgement as formerly; supplies of every kind were furnished with equal punctuality; and a young hero sprang up to do honour to France during the minority of Louis XIV. This hero was the celebrated Louis de Bourbon, duke d'Enghien, afterwards honoured with the title of the Great Condé. He cut to pieces, in the plains of Rocroi, the famous Walloon and Castilian infantry, with an inferior army, and took Thionville, into which the Spanish general, Francisco de Melo, after his defeat, had thrown a reinforcement of ten thousand men. Nine thousand Spaniards and Walloons are said to have fallen in the battle of Rocroi[27].

Dec. 4.
May 14, 1643, N.S.

The arms of France were less fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorrain renounced his alliance with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the Bavarian

27 *Mém. du Comte de Brienne*, tome ii.

troops; and Guebriant being mortally wounded before Rotweil, which however was reduced, a misunderstanding prevailed among the principal officers of the French army. This was followed by its natural consequence, a relaxation in discipline, the usual forerunner of a defeat. The count de Rantzau, who had succeeded Guebriant in the chief command, marched to the neighbourhood of Dutlingen, in Suabia. There the count de Merci, the Bavarian general, surprised, routed, and took him prisoner, with the greater part of his officers, and about four thousand private men. The remains of the French army retreated to Alsace, where they were happily collected by the mareschal de Turenne[28].

The eyes of all Europe were now turned towards the negotiations at Munster and Osnabrug. The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor were, the count d'Aversperg, and the baron de Krane, with Henry duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who was chief of the embassy: France deputed the count d'Avaux and de Servien, counsellor of state: Sweden employed Salvius, who was assisted by a son of the celebrated Oxenstiern; and Spain, the marquis de Castel-Rodrigo and Diego de Saavedra. Deputies were also named by the other European powers interested in the negotiations. The citizens of Osnabrug and Munster were released from the oath which they had taken to the emperor; and the regencies of both cities swore that they would observe an exact neutrality[29].

Amidst these advances toward peace, Torstenson was ordered by the court of Sweden to carry war into the duchy of Holstein; the regents being incensed against the king of Denmark, whom they accused of concealing the intentions of an enemy under the mask of a mediator. He had taken several Swedish vessels in the Sound, and refused to give satisfaction to the regency, which complained of these

28 *Mém. du Comte de Brienne*, tome ii.—Barre, tome ix.
29 Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tome vi.

acts of hostility. It was therefore resolved, in a general assembly of the states of Sweden, that reprisals should be made. That resolution, however, was not publicly known till the moment that Torstenson invaded Holstein. In that duchy he reduced Oldesloe, Kiel, and several other places of importance[30].

Christian IV., alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to Torstenson as a palpable infringement of the treaty lately concluded between Denmark and Sweden. But finding that the Swedish general, instead of paying any regard to such remonstrance, penetrated into Jutland, and made himself master of almost all the towns in that province, his Danish majesty had recourse to the emperor, who ordered Galas to march to his assistance in the depth of winter. The imperialists, though much retarded by the snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, at length appeared on the frontiers of Holstein, where a resolution was taken to starve the Swedes in Jutland, by occupying the defiles in the neighbourhood of Sleswick. This design, however, was rendered abortive by the vigilance of Torstenson, who marched toward Rendsburg, with an intention of giving battle to Galas, if he should dispute the passage; and as the imperialists did not think proper to give him the least molestation, he quitted Holstein, intercepted some of their convoys, and encamped near Ratzburg[31].

The French court, finding the general negotiations disturbed by the war between Sweden and Denmark, sent M. de la Thuillerie to Copenhagen, in order to bring about an accommodation. His proposals, however, met with little attention, until the retreat of the imperialists, and an advantage gained by the Swedes over their northern neighbours at sea, made the Danish monarch more tractable. Despairing of being able to obtain fresh succours from the emperor, the haughty and violent Christian now listened

30 Pufend. lib. xv.—Barre, tome ix. 31 Id. ibid.

A. D. 1644. to the mediation of France. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Bronsebro, by which Sweden restored to Denmark all the towns Torstenson had taken in Holstein; and Christian, on his part, ceded Jemptie, Halland, the isle of Gothland, and its dependencies. Thuillerie also negotiated an alliance between France and Denmark, by which Christian agreed to yield no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of France, or those of her allies[32].

The emperor was unable to prevent the ratification of these treaties. Turenne had retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, which he crossed at Brisac, and advancing with a small army toward the source of the Danube, routed the imperialists, commanded by the baron de Merci. He afterwards attempted the relief of Freyburg, which was invested by the Bavarian army, under the count de Merci, brother of the baron; but finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, he retired, and fortified a camp within a league of the town, whence he had the mortification to see it surrender. Meantime cardinal Mazarine, informed that the French army was very inferior in strength to the Bavarian host, ordered the duke d'Enghien to join Turenne with a reinforcement. These two generals attacked the count de Merci near Freyburg with such impetuosity, that, notwithstanding his advantageous situation, which seemed to place him beyond the reach of danger, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men.

This action, which lasted seven hours, was immediately followed by another, in which the Bavarians gained at first some advantage. But the duke rallied his troops, which seemed disposed to quit the field: and boldly marching against the enemy, drove them three times from their entrenchments, which they as often regained; and victory at last remained undecided. Merci, however, who had lost one half of his army, resolved to avoid another shock by a quick

32 Pufend. lib. xv.

retreat. This he effected in good order, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French to break his rear; and resolutely continuing his march, he safely reached the country of Wirtemberg with the remains of his force, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landau[33].

Nor were France and Sweden the only foreign powers that incommoded the emperor. Mazarine and Oxenstiern, the better to command the negotiations, as well as to furnish employment for Ferdinand, while the Swedes were engaged in the Danish war, had formed an alliance with Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania; and that prince, with the consent of the grand signor, to whom he was tributary, entered Hungary at the head of thirty thousand men, and took Cassova. In justification of his conduct he published a manifesto, addressed to the Hungarian nobility, in which he assured them that his sole view in taking up arms was to defend their liberties and privileges against the ambition of the emperor, who intended to make that elective kingdom hereditary in his family. This manifesto was answered by Ferdinand, who sent a body of veteran troops, under general Götz, to expel the Transylvanian prince; and Ragotski's troops being raw and undisciplined, he durst not hazard an engagement, though superior in number to the enemy. Other circumstances conspired to hasten his retreat. He received intelligence that the grand vizir, the chief support of his interest at the court of Constantinople, was dead, and that the king of Poland intended to declare war aganst him. He was eagerly pursued by Götz: but the country being destitute of provisions, the imperial troops were wasted with famine and fatigue, and afterward totally ruined at the seige of Cassova, where the vaivode had left five regiments, which defended the place with extraordinary courage. That de-

33 Barre, tome ix.

fence, and the loss sustained by the imperialists, inspired Ragotski with fresh courage. He rejected with disdain the terms of peace offered him by Ferdinand; and was of infinite service to Sweden by dividing the forces of the empire, while her troops were employed in Holstein against the king of Denmark[34].

Torstenson, whom we have seen commanding in Holstein, pursued into Lower Saxony count Galas, whose army there experienced a fate similar to that under Götz in Hungary; it being almost utterly destroyed by famine, fatigue, and the sword of the Swedes. Having now no enemy to oppose him, Torstenson entered Bohemia, and marched directly toward Prague, in the hope of surprising that city, and taking prisoners the emperor and the archduke Leopold, who had resided there for some time. In this bold attempt, however, he was disappointed. Ferdinand was no sooner apprised of the march of the Swedes, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place of his residence, under Galas, Hasfeld, John de Weert (who had at last obtained his liberty), and

A.D. 1645.

the counts Brouay and Montecuculi. But all these forces, commanded by such able generals, not being sufficient to dissipate his fears, the emperor retired with the archduke to Vienna[35].

The imperial army being completely formed, and having stationed itself between Thabor and Budeweis, at a small distance from the Swedes, each party diligently watched the motions of the other. Here the superior genius of Torstenson was conspicuous. In order to decoy the imperialists from their advantageous position, he propagated a report that he intended to march into Moravia, and actually took the route to that province; but finding he had gained his point, as the enemy were in motion to follow him, he returned and encamped near Strockwitz. Soon after he passed the Moldaw, and arrived in the

34 Barre, tome ix.

35 Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.—Barre, tome ix.

neighbourhood of Thabor, whither he was followed by the enemy. Nothing passed, for some days, but slight skirmishes; for although both armies were eager to engage, neither would quit the post it had seised, in order to attack the other. At length, however, Torstenson, trusting to the valour of his troops, resolved to engage. He accordingly advanced towards the hostile camp, in a threatening posture, about break of day, when a brisk cannonading began; and a close fight ensued for four hours. In the beginning of the action the left wing of the Swedes gave way; but being supported in time, the battle was restored, and Torstenson charged the imperialists with such fury, as to break their cavalry and destroy a considerable part of their infantry. General Götz, and about three thousand men, were left dead on the field; twenty-six pieces of cannon were taken, with sixty-three pair of colours, and four thousand prisoners, among whom were Hasfeld and other officers of distinction. The pursuit was no less bloody than the battle. Twelve hundred of the imperial infantry were slain in one body, and a great number taken prisoners, together with three thousand horse [36].

Struck with terror by these repeated misfortunes, Ferdinand pressed the elector of Bavaria to assist him with troops: and that prince sent four thousand men to Vienna, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, as he was obliged to protect his own dominions against the insults of the French, who threatened the Upper Palatinate. Galas, at the same time, collected the broken remains of the imperial army in Bohemia; set on foot new levies; and having formed a respectable body of troops, encamped under the cannon of Pilsen, in order to observe the motions of Torstenson; who, in consequence of his late victory, had reduced Pilgran, Iglaw, and several other places. Krems, Stein, and the fort of Tyrnstein, also submitted to the conquerors; so that the Swedes were now masters of the Da-

36 Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.—Barre, tome ix.

nube on the side of Moravia: and all the towns in that province surrendered at discretion, except Brinn, which Torstenson besieged, as the reduction of it seemed necessary to facilitate his junction with Ragotski, on which was supposed to depend the fate of Hungary and Austria.

This enterprise occasioned such alarm at the court of Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratisbon, and the empress and her attendants fled for refuge to Gratz in Stiria. The most valuable articles of furniture were removed from the capital, the suburbs were pulled down, and the bastions and ramparts repaired. Some old regiments threw themselves into the city; the inhabitants were armed; the magazines filled, and preparations made for supporting a long siege. Torstenson, however, had no thoughts of such an enterprise. He found sufficient employment at Brinn; which, by its gallant defence, afforded Ferdinand leisure to put his affairs in some order. Leopold was declared commander-in-chief of the imperial forces; and Galas assembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that he might be able to prevent the Swedes from crossing the Danube. Nor was the elector of Bavaria less busy in taking measures to oppose the progress of the French.

General Merci having received intelligence that the mareschal de Turenne, after quitting his winter quarters at Spire, had established his head post at Mariendal, and that his troops were dispersed in the neighbouring towns for the conveniency of subsistence, resolved to attack him by surprise, in hopes of defeating him before he could assemble his forces. Extending himself, with this view, in the plain of Mariendal, he drew up his army in order of battle. He placed his foot in the centre, and his cavalry on the two wings. After cannonading the French for some time, he put himself at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a small wood that covered their front; a post which it was absolutely necessary for him to possess, before his left wing, commanded by John de

Weert, could act to advantage. Turenne, at the same time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the imperialists, which he broke, and penetrated as far as the second line. But, during these efforts, three thousand French, under the command of general Rose, were routed and dispersed by the Bavarians; and de Weert, perceiving their confusion, advanced with his left wing, in order to take Turenne in the rear. Sensible of the danger of being surrounded, the mareschal ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and retire across the wood; at the other side of which, being joined by three fresh regiments of foot, and fifteen hundred horse that had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view of attacking the enemy, should they pass the wood. Merci, however, did not think proper to try the experiment; so that the French general, having collected his broken troops, retired in the face of the enemy; crossed the Maine in their despite, and reached the frontier of Hesse, where he found that he had lost great part of his infantry, twelve hundred horse, and his whole baggage[37].

Elate with this advantage, the elector of Bavaria made very lofty proposals of peace to France; and Mazarine, without regard to them, sent a reinforcement of eight thousand men to Turenne, under the conduct of the duke d'Enghien. These two commanders resolved to bring the Bavarians to a general action. With this view Turenne, whose day it was to lead, advanced at the head of his cavalry, to engage the enemy. But they had taken post upon a rising ground so difficult of access, that it seemed hazardous to attack them. The duke, having afterwards the chief command, resolved to advance towards the Danube, and was prosecuting his march to Nordlingen, when he received intelligence that the Bavarians were come up with him. He immediately ranged his army in order of battle, upon the same plain where the Swedes had suffered a melancholy

37 Pufend. lib. xvi.—Barre, tome ix.

defeat soon after the death of Gustavus; giving the command of the right wing to the mareschal de Gramont, and that of the left to Turenne. Marsin, an officer of reputation, was placed at the head of the first line of infantry; the second, composed chiefly of Hessians, was commanded by major-general Geiss; and the sieur de Chabot conducted the corps de reserve.

The Bavarian right wing, composed solely of infantry, was posted upon high ground, and the main body entrenched below. Still lower lay a village, and on the left wing, commanded by John de Weert, stood a fortress. The action was begun by the duke d'Enghien, who ordered Marsin to attack the village; but he being dangerously wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the French general sent in his room the marquis de Moussau with a reinforcement. This body also was broken, and would have been utterly destroyed, had not the duke in person led on the whole French infantry to the assistance of the marquis. Nor could their utmost efforts turn the tide of battle, until the count de Merci was slain at the head of his conquering troops. Even after the death of that great captain, all the intrepidity of the duke d'Enghein, who displayed the most heroic valour, could not prevent the destruction of great part of the French infantry. And to increase the misfortunes of the future Condé, the left wing of the Bavarians fell with such fury upon the French cavalry, that they were totally routed, and the mareschal de Gramont made prisoner; while John de Weert, attacking the corps de reserve, defeated Chabot, and penetrated as far as the baggage. During these disasters, Turenne assailed the right wing of the enemy; and when he had reached the summit of the eminence in good order, a terrible conflict ensued, in which he broke the first line of the Bavarians; but general Gleen advancing with the second, the French were ready to give way in their turn, when the duke d'Enghein came seasonably to the support of his

left wing. He obliged the Bavarians to retire, and leave their cannon, which were pointed against the part of their right wing drawn up near the village. Turenne now charged the enemy in flank, and drove them beyond the village, after having taken general Gleen prisoner. Meantime John de Weert, partly informed of what had passed upon the hill, hastened thither with his victorious left wing; but he came too late to retrieve the honour of the day, every thing being already in confusion. All that he could do, therefore, was to lead off the remains of the Bavarian army to Donawert, whither they escaped under cover of night, though pursued as far as the banks of the Danube[38].

This victory, if such it may be called, was dearly purchased by the French, four thousand of their best soldiers being left dead upon the spot. Nordlingen and some neighbouring places, indeed, opened their gates to the conquerors; but they were soon recovered by the Bavarians, who received a strong reinforcement under Leopold. Turenne, however, after the departure of the duke d'Enghien, who went to Paris to receive the applause due to his valour, had the honour of closing the campaign with re-establishing the elector of Treves in his dominions. That prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, in consequence of a second treaty with Ferdinand, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, and other rigorous conditions. But as he signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver himself from a tedious and grievous imprisonment, he threw himself upon the protection of France, as soon as he was liberated; and cardinal Mazarine ordered Turenne to effect his restoration. The mareschal accordingly invested Treves; the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects[39].

The elector of Saxony, finding himself unable to stop

38 Barre, tome ix.—Heiss, lib. iii. chap. x. *Hist. du Prince de Condé.*

39 Barre, tome ix.

the progress of the Swedes under Köningsmark, who had reduced a number of towns in Thuringia and Misnia, had recourse to a negotiation, and concluded a truce with that general for six months, as a prelude to a peace with Sweden. This treaty was the more disagreeable to the house of Austria, as it enabled Köningsmark, after laying Bohemia under contribution, to form a junction with Torstenson, who had carried his depredations to the very gates of Vienna, in spite of all the efforts of the archduke. The emperor, however, in some degree counterbalanced the defection of the elector of Saxony, by a peace with Ragotski. He acknowledged that prince sovereign of Transylvania, and restored to him certain possessions in Hungary, which had belonged to his predecessor, Bethlem Gabor[40].

Torstenson, after his junction with Köningsmark, proposed to undertake the siege of Prague; but Leopold, being joined by the count de Bouchain, took such effectual measures for securing that city, as rendered the attempt impracticable. Chagrined at this disappointment, and greatly afflicted with the gout, Torstenson retired to his own country. He was succeeded in the chief command by general Wrangel, who supported the reputation of the Swedish arms, and in conjunction with Turenne ravaged Franconia, Silesia, and Moravia.

A. D. 1646.

In order to secure his dominions against these ravages, the elector of Bavaria withdrew his troops from the service of the emperor, and concluded a separate peace with France. His example was followed by the archbishop of Cologne; and the archbishop of Mentz, and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, were reduced by the victorious Turenne to the necessity of taking the same step. He laid waste their dominions, and struck all Germany with the terror of his arms. Nor were the Swedes inactive. Having garrisoned the towns they possessed in Westphalia and Upper Suabia, they made themselves

A. D. 1647.

40 *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.

masters of Schweinfort, which had cut off the communication between these two provinces; and again entering Bohemia, reduced Egra in presence of the imperial army[41].

The confederates were less successful in other quarters. Nothing of consequence had been effected either in Italy or the Low Countries, during the last two campaigns, and in Spain the reputation of two celebrated French generals had been tarnished. In 1646 the count d'Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, besieged Lerida. The garrison was not strong, nor was the place in a state of defence. But don Antonio de Brito, the governor, had the address to make the French believe that his condition was yet more desperate than he found it; so that they did not press the siege so vigorously as they otherwise might, from a persuasion that he would surrender at discretion. Meanwhile the marquis de Leganez, the Spanish general, who knew exactly the state of the garrison, caused a great convoy to be provided. When it was nearly ready, he advanced towards Lerida, seemingly with an intention of relieving the place; but, after remaining some days within sight of the French army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design. Having forwarded the convoy, he marched back to the town; and appeared unexpectedly, in order of battle, on one side of the French lines; while, on the other, the convoy with a strong reinforcement safely entered the place, during the hurry of the besiegers to receive the enemy. Harcourt therefore found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; a disappointment which chagrined him so much, that he resigned the command, and returned to France, where he was very coldly received by Mazarine[42].

The prince of Condé, formerly duke d'Enghien, was now appointed viceroy of Catalonia; the Catalans, as already observed, having put themselves under the protec-

41 Barre, tome ix.—Heiss, liv. iii. chap. 10.

42 Quincy, *Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.*—*Mém. de Madame de Motteville.*

[library stamp]

tion of France. Elate with past success, he resolved to distinguish the beginning of his administration by the reduction of Lerida, in which his predecessor had failed. Fortunately he found the lines of the count d'Harcourt so little damaged, that they were easily repaired, and the trenches were opened with a flourish of violins. The conduct of don Antonio de Brito, who was well supplied with every necessary, and had a garrison of three thousand men, was the very reverse of what it had been the year before. He harassed the enemy with continued sallies, and disputed with obstinacy every inch of ground. The French ascribe this change of conduct to his being sensible that they had made the attack in the weakest place, and concluded that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they had made themselves masters of the outworks; but, in the midst of these sanguine expectations, peculiar to the French nation, the engineers found their progress obstructed by a rock. It was impossible to proceed—it was too late to begin again; the troops were diminished by fatigue—the heats were coming on. The Spanish army, under the marquis d'Aitona, advanced to the relief of the place, and the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege[43]. The rest of the campaign was spent in fruitless marches and countermarches.

The conclusion of the year was not more fortunate for the confederates in Germany. The elector of Bavaria was prevailed upon to renounce the alliance he had concluded with France, and re-unite himself to the emperor; and, in consequence of the union of the Bavarian and imperial forces, Wrangel was obliged to abandon Bohemia. After being harassed by the Austrian general Melander, in a long and difficult march, he took up his winter-quarters in the duchy of Brunswick.

Early in the spring, however, the Swedish general led

43 Martiniere, *Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.*—Quincy, *Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.*

A.D.1648. out his army, hoping to surprise the enemy in their cantonments; but they were apprised of his intention, and had assembled their troops. To atone for this failure, Wrangel advanced, in conjunction with Turenne, against the Austrians and Bavarians, at Zummerhausen, near the Danube. There a furious battle was fought; and the imperial forces were defeated, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Montecuculi and Wittemberg. These able generals were only able to save the remains of the army, by a masterly retreat to Augsburg[44].

Piccolomini arriving soon after from the Netherlands, assumed the chief command of the imperial forces, in the room of Melander, who was slain. His presence seemed to infuse new spirit into the troops; but he could not prevent the confederates from passing the Lech, and penetrating into Bavaria, where they laid the whole country under contribution, and obliged the elector to quit his capital, and take refuge in Saltzburg.

Nor was the victory at Zummerhausen the only advantage the confederates had gained since the opening of the campaign. The Hessians had defeated the baron Lamboy near Grevemburg, in the duchy of Juliers; and Köningsmark had surprised the new city of Prague. In the mean time Charles Gustavus, count Palatine of Deux Ponts, arriving from Sweden, with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of Old Prague; and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of that capital, and of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, resolved in earnest to conclude the long-demanded peace[45].

Hitherto the negotiations at Munster and Osnabrug had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war; but the French and Swedes being now decidedly victorious, and

44 Barre, tome ix.—*Hist. de Turenne.*—Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.

45 Barre, tome ix.—*Hist. de Turenne.*—Heiss, liv. iii. chap. ix.

having no other enemy in Germany than the emperor, all the rest being either subdued or in alliance with them, it only remained for Ferdinand to receive law from those powers. Other circumstances conspired to forward the treaty. Sweden, notwithstanding the great success of its arms during eighteen years of hostility, wished for peace; and the young queen Christina, so distinguished by her love of learning, was desirous of repose, that she might have leisure to pursue her favourite studies. The United Provinces, jealous of France, had recently concluded a separate treaty with Spain; in which their independence was not only acknowledged, but the republic was declared a free and sovereign state, by the only power that had disputed it, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, with an obstinacy to which history affords no parallel, for above seventy years. France, therefore, was left to sustain alone the whole weight of the war against the Spanish branch of the house of Austria; and cardinal Mazarine, her prime minister, being at the same time threatened with an intestine war, became more moderate in his demands at the congress, as well as more sincerely disposed to promote the tranquillity of Germany [46].

In consequence of these favourable occurrences and corresponding views, the memorable PEACE of WESTPHALIA was at length signed at Munster. As it is a fundamental law of the empire, and the basis of all subsequent treaties, I must make you acquainted, my dear Philip, with the substance of the principal articles of it. In order to satisfy the different powers, the following important stipulations were found necessary; namely, that France should possess the sovereignty of the three bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), the city of Pignerol, Brisac and its dependencies, the territory of Suntgaw, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right to

Oct. 24. N.S.

46 Auberi, *Hist. du Card. Mazarin.*—Barre.—Le Clerc.

keep a garrison in Philipsburg; that to Sweden should be granted, besides five millions of crowns, the archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verden secularised, Upper Pomerania, Stetin, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, all to be holden as fiefs of the empire, with three votes at the diet; that the elector of Brandenburg should be reimbursed for the loss of Upper Pomerania, by the cession of the bishopric of Magdeburg secularised, and by having the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, declared secular principalities, with four votes at the diet; that the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for Wismar, should have the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzburg, erected, in like manner, into secular principalities; that the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, should remain with Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and his descendants, as long as they should produce male issue; but that the Lower Palatinate should be restored to Charles Louis, in whose favour should be established an eighth electorate, to continue till the extinction of the house of Bavaria. All the other princes and states of the empire were re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia in 1618. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire; and the long-disputed succession of Cleves and Juliers, with the restitution of Lorrain, was referred to arbitration [47].

The stipulations on the subject of religion were no less accurate and comprehensive. The pacification of Passau was confirmed in its full extent; and it was farther agreed, that the Calvinists should enjoy the same privileges with the Lutherans; that the imperial chamber should consist of twenty-four Protestant members, and twenty-six Catholics; that the emperor should receive six Protestants

47 Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tome vi.—Pfeffel, *Abrégé Chronol.*

into his aulic council; and that an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies should be chosen for the diet, except when it should be convoked for the regulation of points that might concern one only of the two religions; that all the deputies should be Protestants, if the objects of discussion should belong to their religion; and Catholics in the opposite case[48].

These are the great outlines of the peace of Westphalia, so essential to the tranquillity of Europe in general, and to that of Germany in particular. War, however, between France and Spain, was continued with various success, until the treaty of the Pyrenees, negotiated in 1659, when Louis XIV. was married to the infanta Maria Theresa, as I shall afterward have occasion more particularly to relate. In the mean time we must make a pause.

48 Du Mont, ubi supra.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

LETTER I.

History of England and Ireland, from the Accession of James I. to the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the Fall of the Earl of Somerset, in 1615.

IN bringing down the general transactions of Europe to the peace of Westphalia, when a new epoch in modern history commences, I excused myself from carrying the affairs of England lower than the death of Elizabeth. A.D. 1603.

This arrangement, my dear Philip, was suggested by the nature of the subject. The accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England forms a memorable æra in the history of Great Britain. It gave birth to a struggle between the king and parliament, that repeatedly threw the whole island into convulsions, and which was never fully composed, until the final expulsion of the royal family. To make you acquainted with the rise and progress of this important struggle, while your mind is disengaged from other objects, and before I again lead you into the

great line of European politics, with which it had little connexion, shall now be my business. By entering upon it sooner, I should have disjointed the continental story, have withdrawn your attention from matters of no less moment, and yet have been obliged to discontinue the subject, when it became most interesting.

The English throne being left vacant by the death of Elizabeth, who with her latest breath had declared, that she wished to be succeeded by her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots, or who in her dying moments had made signs to that purpose, James was immediately proclaimed king of England by the lords of the privy council. He was great grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.—so that, on the failure of the male line of the house of Tudor, his hereditary title remained unquestionable. The crown of England therefore passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, with as much tranquillity as ever it was transmitted from father to son. People of all ranks, forgetting their ancient hostilities with Scotland, and their repugnance to the dominion of strangers, testified their satisfaction with louder acclamations than were usual at the accession even of their native princes. They foresaw greater advantages resulting from a perpetual alliance with Scotland, than inconveniences from submitting to a sovereign of that kingdom. And by this junction of its whole collective force, Great Britain has risen to a degree of power and consequence in Europe, which Scotland and England, destined by their position to form one vigorous monarchy, could never have attained as separate and hostile kingdoms.

Dazzled with the glory of giving a master to their rich and powerful rivals, and relying on the partiality of their native prince, the Scots expressed no less joy than the English at this increase of their sovereign's dignity; and as his presence was necessary in England, where the people were impatient to see their new king, James instantly prepared

to leave Edinburgh, and set out for London without delay. In his journey, crowds of his English subjects every where assembled to welcome him: great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the salutations that resounded from all sides. But James, who wanted that engaging affability by which Elizabeth had captivated the hearts of her people; who, although social and familiar among his friends and courtiers, could not bear the fatigue of rendering himself agreeable to a mixed multitude; and who, though far from disliking flattery, was still fonder of ease; unwisely issued a proclamation forbidding such tumultuous resort. A disadvantageous comparison between his deportment and that of his illustrious predecessor was the consequence; and if Elizabeth's frugality in conferring honours had formerly been repined at, it was now justly esteemed, in contrast with that undistinguishing profusion with which James bestowed them[1].

The king's liberality, however, in dispensing these honours, it may be presumed, would have excited less censure in England, had they not been shared out, with other advantages, in too large proportions to his Scottish courtiers, a numerous train of whom accompanied him to London. Yet it must be owned, in justice to James, whose misfortune it was, through his whole reign, to be more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, that he left all the great offices of state in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domestic, for a time, to his English subjects. Among these secretary Cecil, with whom he had for some time carried on a private correspondence, and who had smoothed his way to the throne, was regarded as his prime minister. As this correspondence had been conducted with profound

1 Within six weeks after his entrance into England, he is said to have bestowed knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven persons, many of whom were utterly unworthy of such honour.

secrecy, Cecil's favour with the king created general surprise; it being well known to the nation, that his father had been the principal cause of the tragical death of the queen of Scots, and that he himself had hastened the fate of the earl of Essex, the warm friend of the family of Stuart. But the secretary's services had obliterated his crimes; and James was not so destitute of prudence or of gratitude, as to slight the talents of a man who was able to give stability to his throne, nor so vindictive as to persecute him from resentment of a father's offences. On the contrary, he loaded him with honours; creating him successively baron of Essingdon, viscount Cranbourn, and earl of Salisbury. The son of the earl of Essex was gratified with a restitution of title and estate; while sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, Cecil's former associates, were dismissed from their employments. This disgrace, however, was not so much occasioned by their violent opposition to the king's family during the life of Elizabeth, as by an ineffectual attempt which they had made, after her death, to prescribe certain conditions to the declared successor (whom they found they wanted power to set aside) before he should ascend the throne[2].

James and his new ministers had soon an opportunity of exercising their political sagacity. Ambassadors arrived from almost all the princes and states in Europe, to congratulate him on his accession to the crown of England, and form new treaties and alliances with him, as the head of the two British kingdoms. Among others, Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by the pensionary Barneveldt, represented the United Provinces. But the envoy who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis de Rosni, afterward duke of Sully. He proposed, in the name of Henry IV. a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern

2 Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii.

crowns, to restrain the ambition, and depress the exorbitant power of the house of Austria[3]. But whether the genius of the British king, naturally timid and pacific, was inadequate to such vast undertakings, or so penetrating as to discover, that the French monarchy, now united in domestic concord, and governed by an able and active prince, was of itself a sufficient counterpoise to the Austrian greatness, he declined taking any part in the projected league; so that Rosni, obliged to contract his views, could only concert with him the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces. Nor was this an easy matter; for James, before his accession to the throne of England, had entertained many scruples in regard to the revolt in the Low Countries, and had even gone so far, on some occasions, as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels[4]. He was induced, however, after conversing freely with his English ministers and courtiers, to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice. He found the attachment of his new subjects so strong to that republic, and their opinion of a common interest so firmly established, as to make his concurrence necessary: he therefore consented to give secret support to the states-general, in conjunction with France, lest their weakness and despair should bring them again under the dominion of Spain.

While James was taking these prudent steps, some bold malcontents conspired to place on the throne of England Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin-german, equally descended with him from Henry VII. Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, were accused of devising the plot, and executed for their share in it. But the chief conspirators were lord Cobham and his brother Mr. Broke, lord Grey, sir Griffin Markham, sir Walter Raleigh, and other discarded courtiers. These daring and ambitious spirits meeting frequently, and believing the whole nation as dissatisfied as themselves, had entertained very criminal

3 *Mém. de Sully*. 4 Winwood, vol. ii.

projects; and some of them, as appeared on their trial, had even entered into a correspondence with d'Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to disturb the new settlement of the crown[5]. Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block; Broke was executed, and Raleigh reprieved[6]. He remained, however, in confinement many years.

Soon after he had escaped this danger, the king was engaged in a scene of business more suited to his temper, and in which he was highly ambitious of making a figure. Of all the qualities that mark the character of James, he was by none so much distinguished as by the pedantic vanity of being thought to excel in school-learning[7]. This vanity was much heightened by the flattery which he received from his English courtiers, especially those of the ecclesiastical order; and he was eager for an opportunity of displaying his theological talents, of all others most admired in that age, to the whole body of his new subjects. Such an opportunity was now offered him, by a petition from the puritans, for reforming certain tenets of the established church. Under pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the parties, the king called a conference at Hampton-court, and gave the petitioners hopes of an impartial debate; though nothing appears to have been farther from his purpose. This matter will require some illustration.

A.D. 1604.

5 *State Trials*, vol. i. 6 Winwood, vol. ii.

7 Only the pedantry of James, which led him to display his learning upon all occasions, could have drawn upon him contempt as a scholar; for his book, entitled *Basilicon Doron*, which contains precepts relative to the art of government, addressed to his son prince Henry, must be allowed, notwithstanding the subsequent alterations and refinements in national taste, to be a respectable performance, and to be equal to the works of most contemporary authors, both in purity of style and justness of composition. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who in that age, as the sagacious Hume observes, did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings?—If he composed a commentary on the Revelations, and endeavoured to prove that the pope was antichrist; may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier? and even to the great Newton? who lived at a time when learning and philosophy were more advanced than during the reign of James I.

The puritans, whom I have formerly had occasion to mention[8], formed a sect which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. They frequented no dissenting congregations, because there were no such in the kingdom; uniformity of religion being, in that age, thought absolutely necessary to the support of government, if not to the very existence of civil society, by men of all ranks and characters. But they maintained, that they formed the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law, and that none else deserved to be tolerated. In consequence of this way of thinking, the puritanical clergy frequently refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, and were deprived of their livings, if not otherwise punished, during the reign of Elizabeth; yet so little influence had these severities upon the party, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen signed the petition to the king for the farther reformation of the church[9].

As James had been educated in the religion of the church of Scotland, which was nearly the same with that which the puritans wished to establish in England, and as, in his commentary on the Revelations, he had represented Modern Rome as the Whore of Babylon mentioned in Scripture, these enthusiastic zealots hoped to see the sanctuary thoroughly purified, and every remaining rag of the whore torn away. The impurities of which they chiefly complained were the episcopal vestments, and certain harmless ceremonies, venerable from age and preceding use, which the moderation of the church of England had retained at the Reformation; such as the use of the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, and the reverence of bowing at the name of Jesus. If the king should not utterly abolish these abominations, they flat-

8 Part I. Letter LXXIV.

9 Fuller's *Church History*, book x.

tered themselves that he would at least abate the rigour of the laws against nonconformity.

But although James, in youth, had strongly imbibed the Calvinistical doctrines, his mind had now taken a contrary bias. The more he knew of the puritanical clergy, the less favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republican maxims; and he had found, that the same lofty pretensions, which dictated their familiar addresses to their Creator, induced them to take still greater freedoms with their earthly sovereign. They had disputed his tenets, and counteracted his commands. These liberties, which could not have recommended them to any prince, rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whose head was filled with lofty notions of kingship and prerogative, as well as of his theological pre-eminence and ecclesiastical supremacy. Besides, he dreaded the popularity which the puritans had acquired in both kingdoms; and being much inclined to mirth and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended the censure of their austerity, on account of his free and disengaged manner of life. Being thus, from temper as well as policy, unfriendly to this rigorous sect, he resolved to prevent, as far as possible, its farther growth in England, and even to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, in order to soften the manners of the people.

A judge so prejudiced could not be just. The puritans accordingly complained, and with reason, of the unfair management of the dispute at the conference. Instead of acting as arbiter, the king became principal disputant, and frequently repeated the episcopal maxim: "No bishop, "no king!" The bishops, and other courtiers, in their turn, were very liberal in their applause of the royal theologian. "I have often heard that the royalty and "priesthood were united," said the chancellor Egerton, "but never saw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "that he verily

"believed the king spoke by the special assistance of "God's Spirit!" Thus flattered and encouraged by the churchmen, James ordered the puritans to conform. They obtained, however, a few alterations in the liturgy; and strenuously pleaded for the revival of certain assemblies, which they called *prophesyings*, and which had been suppressed by Elizabeth, as dangerous to the state. This demand roused all James's choler; and he delivered himself in a speech, which distinctly shows the political considerations that determined him in his choice of religious parties. "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery," replied he, "it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the "Devil. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, "shall meet and censure me and my council: therefore "I reiterate my former speech; *le Roi s'avisera*. Stay, "I pray, for seven years before you demand; and then, "if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may perchance "hearken unto you; for that government will keep me "in wind, and give me work enough [10]."

The assembly in which the king next displayed his learning and eloquence was of a very different complexion. The meeting of the great council of the nation had hitherto been delayed from a dread of the plague, which had lately broken out in London, and there raged to such a degree, that above thirty thousand persons are supposed to have died of it, although the city and suburbs did not then contain two hundred thousand inhabitants. At length, however, the plague subsided, and the parliament was convened. The speech which James made on that occasion fully displays his character. March 19. Though not contemptible either in style or matter, it wants the majestic brevity and reserve which become a king in addressing his subjects from the throne. "Shall "I ever," said he, "nay can I ever be able, or rather "so unable, in memory, as to forget your unexpected "readiness and alacrity, your ever-memorable resolution,

10 Fuller's *Church History*.—Wilson's *Life and Reign of James I.*

"and the most wonderful conjunction and harmony of "your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your "undoubted and lawful king and governor? or shall it ever "be blotted out of mind, how, at my first entrance into "this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay "rather flew, to meet me? their eyes flaming nothing but "sparkles of affection, their mouths and tongues uttering "nothing but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the "rest of their members, in their gestures discovering a "passionate longing to meet their new sovereign!" He then expatiated on the manifold blessings which the English had received in his person; and concluded with observing, that the measure of their happiness would be full, if England and Scotland were united in one kingdom. "I am the husband," added he, "and the whole "island is my lawful wife; and I hope no one will be so "unreasonable as to think, that a Christian king under "the Gospel can be a polygamist, and the husband of "two wives[11]."

The following words, in a letter from James to the parliament on the same subject, are more to the purpose. "It "is in you now," says he, "to make the choice—to procure prosperity and increase of greatness to me and "mine, you and yours; and by the away-taking of that "partition-wall, which already, by God's providence, in "my blood is rent asunder, to establish my throne and "your body politic in a perpetual and flourishing peace." This was indeed an important and desirable object: and so much was the king's heart set upon effectually removing all division between the two kingdoms, and so sure did he think himself of accomplishing his aim, that he assumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's cross with that of St. George; and in order to give a general idea of the peaceful advantages of such an union, the iron doors of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares. But the minds of men were not yet ripe

11 *Works* of James I.

for that salutary measure. The remembrance of former hostility was too recent to admit of a cordial friendship; the animosity between the two nations could only be allayed by time. The complaisance of the two houses to the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate upon the terms of an union, without any power of making advances towards its final establishment[12].

The commons discovered a better judgement of national interest, in some other points in which they opposed the crown; and fully showed, that a bold spirit of freedom, if not a liberal manner of thinking, had become general among them. It had been usual during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as in more early periods of the English government, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority, of issuing new writs for supplying the places of such members as he judged incapable of attending on account of their ill state of health, or any other impediment[13]. This dangerous prerogative James ventured to exercise in the case of sir Francis Goodwin. The chancellor declared his seat vacant, and issued a writ for a new election. But the commons, whose eyes were now opened, saw the pernicious consequences of such a power, and asserted their right of judging solely in their own elections and returns. "By this course," said a member, "a chan-"cellor may call a parliament consisting of what persons "he may prefer. Any suggestion, by any person, may "be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this "plain question, whether the chancery or the parliament "ought to have authority[14]?" The king was obliged to yield the point; and that right, so essential to public liberty, has ever since been regarded as a privilege inherent in

12 *Journ. of the House of Commons*, June 7, 1604.

13 *Journ.* January 19, and March 18, 1580.

14 *Journ.* March 30, 1604.

the house of commons, though at that time rendered doubtful through the negligence of former parliaments.

Nor did the spirit and judgement of the commons appear only in their vigorous exertions in defence of their own privileges: they extended their attention to the commercial part of the nation, and endeavoured, though at that time in vain, to free trade from those shackles which the ill-judged policy of Elizabeth had imposed upon it[15]. James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by that princess, and which fettered every species of domestic industry; but the exclusive companies still remained, another species of monopolies, by which almost all foreign trade was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce sacrificed to a temporary advantage to the crown. The commons also attempted to free the landed interest from the burthen of wardships, and the body of the people from the oppression of purveyance[16]. It will therefore be proper here to give some account of those oppressive remains of the feudal government.

The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could, at pleasure, take provisions for the king's household, whithersoever he travelled, from all the neighbouring counties, and make use of the horses and carriages of the farmers. The prices of these provisions and services were fixed; but the payment of the money was often distant and uncertain, and the rates were always much inferior to the usual market price; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a heavy burthen, and, being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. Elizabeth made use of it to victual

15 *Journ.* May 21, 1604.

16 *Journ.* April 30, and June 1, 1604.

her navy during the first years of her reign[17]. Wardship, though the most regular and legal of all impositions by prerogative, was also a humiliating badge of slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families among the nobility and gentry. When an estate devolved to a female, the king would oblige her to marry whom he pleased; and whether the heir was male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profits of the estate during the minority. These impositions had been often complained of; and the commons now proposed to compound with the king for them, by a secure and independent revenue. The benefit which the crown reaped from wardship and purveyance was accordingly estimated; but, after some debates in the lower house, and a conference with the lords on the subject, it was found to contain more difficulties than could at that time be surmounted.

Soon after the rising of parliament, a treaty of peace, which had been some time in agitation, was concluded with Spain. Aug. 18. And although the war between Philip II. and Elizabeth appears to have been continued from personal animosity rather than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects, this treaty was generally disliked by the English nation, as it checked the spirit of enterprise, so prevalent in that age, and contained some articles which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth. But these stipulations, so far at least as they regarded supplies, were never executed by James; who had, by a secret article, reserved to himself the power of assisting the United Provinces.

During this season of peace and tranquillity was brought to light one of the most diabolical plots of which A. D. 1605. there is any record in the history of mankind. The conspiracy to which I allude is the GUNPOWDER

17 Hume.—Camden.

TREASON.—A scheme so infernally dark will require some elucidation.

The Roman Catholics in general were much disappointed, and even exasperated, by the king's conduct in religious matters. He was not only the son of the unfortunate Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed in their cause; but, in order to quiet opposition, and make his accession to the throne of England more easy, he had given hopes that he would tolerate their religion. They therefore expected great favour and indulgence under his government. But they soon discovered their mistake; and, being equally surprised and enraged, when they found James had resolved to execute the rigorous laws enacted against them, they determined on vengeance. Some of the most zealous of the party, under the direction of Garnet the superior of the Jesuits in England, conspired to exterminate, at one blow, the most powerful of their enemies in this kingdom; and, in consequence of that blow, to re-establish the catholic faith. Their conspiracy had for its object the destruction of the king and parliament. For this purpose, they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault beneath the house of lords, usually let as a coal-cellar, which had been hired by Percy, a relative of the earl of Northumberland. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was the fifth of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament; when the king, queen, and prince of Wales, were expected to be in the house, with the principal nobility and gentry. The rest of the royal family were to be seised, and all dispatched, except the princess Elizabeth, James's eldest daughter, yet an infant, who was to be raised to the throne under the care of a catholic protector[18].

The destined day at length approached; and the conspirators were filled with the strongest confidence of success,

18 *Hist. of the Gunpowder Treason.*—See also *State Trials*, vol. i.

not wholly without reason; for, although the horrid secret had been communicated to above twenty persons, no remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had induced any one accomplice, after more than twelve months, either to abandon the conspiracy or to make a discovery of it. But the holy fury by which they were actuated, though it had extinguished in their breasts every generous sentiment, and every selfish motive, yet left them susceptible of those bigoted partialities by which it was inspired, and which fortunately saved the nation. A short time before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic nobleman, whose father, lord Morley, had been a great sufferer during the reign of Elizabeth, on account of his attachment to popery, received the following letter:

"My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your "friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I "would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise "some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parlia-"ment; for God and man have resolved to punish the "wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this "advertisement; but retire yourself into the country, "where you may expect the event in safety: for, though "there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will "receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they "shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be "contemned, because it may do you good, and can do "you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have "burned the letter: and I hope God will give you the "grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection "I commend you[19]."

Though Monteagle was inclined to think this a foolish attempt to expose him to ridicule, by frightening him from attending his duty in parliament, he judged it safest to carry the letter to the earl of Salisbury. The secretary either did or pretended to think it a light matter; so that all farther

19 *Works* of James I. p. 227.

inquiry was dropped, till the king, who had been for some time at Royston, returned to town. To the timid sagacity of James, the matter appeared in a more important point of view. From the serious and earnest style of the letter, he conjectured that it intimated some dark and dangerous design against the state; and the hints respecting a great, sudden, and terrible blow, of which the authors would be concealed, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder. It was, therefore, thought proper to inspect all the vaults under the parliamentary place of meeting. This inspection, however, was purposely delayed till the day before the meeting of the great council of the nation; when, on searching the vaults, the gunpowder was discovered, though concealed under great piles of wood and faggots; and Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, who stood in a dark corner, and passed for Percy's servant, was seised and carried to the tower.

This man had been sent from Flanders, on account of his determined courage, and known zeal in the catholic cause. He was accordingly entrusted with the most hazardous part of the enterprise. The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in his pocket. He at first behaved with insolence, and not only refused to discover his accomplices, but expressed the utmost regret, that he had lost the precious opportunity of at least sweetening his death, by taking vengeance on his and God's enemies[20]. But, after some confinement, his courage failed when the rack was shown to him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators. Several of them were men of ancient family, independent fortune, and unspotted character; instigated to so great a crime by a fanatical zeal alone, which led them to believe that they were serving their Maker, while they were contriving the ruin of their country, and the destruction of their species.

20 Winwood, vol. ii.

Such of the conspirators as were in London, on hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire; where sir Everard Digby, one of their associates, was already in arms, in order to seise the princess Elizabeth, who was then at lord Harrington's seat. They failed in their attempt to secure the princess; the county rose upon them; and they were all taken and executed except three, who fell a sacrifice to their desperate valour; namely, Wright, a daring fanatic; Catesby, the original conspirator; and Percy, his first and most active associate[21].

After this escape, James seems to have enjoyed a kind of temporary popularity, even among his English subjects. If the Puritans were offended at his lenity toward the Catholics, against whom he exercised no new severities, the more moderate and intelligent part of the nation considered that lenity as truly magnanimous; and all men seemed to be convinced that he could not be the patron of a religion which had aimed so tremendous a blow at his life and throne. His love of peace was favourable to commerce, which flourished under his reign; and it procured him leisure, notwithstanding his natural indolence of temper, to attend to the disordered state of Ireland.

Elizabeth had lived to see the final subjection of that island. But a difficult task still remained; to civilise the barbarous inhabitants; to reconcile them to laws and industry; and by these means to render the conquest durable, and useful to the crown of England. The first step that James took in regard to this important business, which he considered as his master-piece in politics, was to abolish the Irish customs that supplied the place of laws; and which were calculated, as will appear by a few examples, to keep the people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder. Their chieftains, whose authority was absolute, were not hereditary but elective; or, to speak more pro-

21 *Works* of James, p. 231.—Winwood, vol. ii.—*State Trials*, vol. i.

ERFOO

perly, were established by force and violence; and although certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit arose from exactions, dues, assessments, which were levied at pleasure, and for which there was no fixed law[22].

In consequence of the Brehon law or custom, every crime, how enormous soever, was punished in Ireland, not with death, but by a fine. Even murder itself, as among our Saxon ancestors, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had affixed to him a certain rate or value, which if any one was willing to pay, he might assassinate whatever man he disliked. This rate was called his *Eric*. Accordingly when sir William Fitzwilliams, while lord deputy, told the chieftain Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which had been made a county a little before, and subjected to the English laws; "Your sheriff," replied Maguire, "shall be welcome to me: but let me know before-"hand his *eric*, or the price of his head, that, if any of "my people should cut it off, I may levy the money "upon the county[23]."

After abolishing these, and other pernicious Irish customs, and substituting English laws in their stead, James proceeded to govern the natives by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay punctually transmitted from England, in order to prevent the soldiers from subsisting upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. Circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. For the relief of the common people, the dues which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals were estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties[24].

22 Sir John Davies, p. 167. 23 Id. ibid.
24 Davies, p. 278.

The beneficial effects of these regulations were soon visible, especially in the province of Ulster; A. D. 1610. which having wholly fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting colonies in that fertile territory. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres; tenants were brought from England and Scotland; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; husbandry and the mechanical arts were taught them, a fixed habitation was secured for them, and every irregularity repressed. By these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province in Ireland, soon became the most civilised and the best cultivated part of the island.

But whatever domestic advantages might result from James's pacific disposition, it gradually lost him the affections of his people, as it induced him to avoid war by negotiations and concessions derogatory from the dignity of an English monarch. It sunk the national consequence, and perhaps the national spirit; and his excessive love of carousals and hunting, of public spectacles and unavailing speculations, which left him little time for public business, at last divested his political character of all claim to respect, and rendered him equally contemptible at home and abroad. This contempt was increased by a disadvantageous comparison between the king and the prince of Wales.

Though youth and royal birth, embellished by the flattering rays of hope, prepossess men strongly in favour of an heir apparent of the crown, Henry, James's eldest son, independently of such circumstances, seems to have possessed great merit. Although he was now in A. D. 1612. his nineteenth year, the illusions of passion or of rank had never seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition alone engaged his heart, and occupied his mind. Had he lived to come to the throne,

he might probably have promoted the glory more than the happiness of his people, his disposition being strongly turned to war. Of this we have a remarkable instance. When the French ambassador took leave of him, and asked his commands for France, he found him employed in the exercise of the pike: "Tell your king," said Henry, "in what occupation you left me engaged[25]." His death, which was sudden, diffused throughout the nation the deepest sorrow, and violent reports were propagated that he had been taken off by poison. The physicians, however, on opening his body, found no symptoms to justify such an opinion[26].

Nov. 6.

But James had one weakness, which drew on him more odium than either his pedantry, pusillanimity, or extravagant love of amusement; namely, an infatuated attachment to young and worthless favourites. This passion appears so much the more ludicrous, though less detestable, as it does not seem to have contained any thing criminal[27].

Of these favourites the first and most odious was Robert Carr, a young gentleman of a good family in Scotland. When about twenty years of age he arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. A handsome person, an easy manner, and a graceful air, were his chief accomplishments; and these were sufficient to recommend him to James, who, through his whole life, was too liable to be captivated by exterior qualities. Lord Hay, who was well acquainted with this weakness in his sovereign, and meant to take advantage of it, assigned to Carr, at a

25 *Dep. de la Boderie.* 26 Wilson.—Coke.—Welwood.

27 The interest which James took in the amours of his favourites, and his attention to the cultivation of their minds, ought to exempt him from all suspicion of an unnatural crime, notwithstanding the influence which personal beauty seems to have had in the choice of them. He appears to have been desirous of a minister of his own forming, who would be entirely subservient to his will, as being his creature in a double sense, and who might also prove an easy and disengaged companion for his mirthful hours.

tournament, the office of presenting to the king his buckler and device. But, as the future favourite was advancing for that purpose, his ungovernable horse threw him, and his leg was broken by the fall.

Equally struck with this incident, and with the beauty and simplicity of the youth, whom he had never seen before, James approached him with sentiments of the softest compassion; ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be attended by the most skilful surgeons: and paid him frequent visits during his confinement. The more ignorant he found him, the stronger his attachment became. Having an elevated opinion of his own wisdom, he flattered himself that he should be able to form a minister whose political sagacity would astonish the world, while he surpassed all his former courtiers in personal and literary accomplishments. In consequence of this partial fondness, interwoven with selfish vanity, the king soon knighted his favourite; created him viscount Rochester, honoured him with the garter, admitted him into the privy council, and without assigning him any particular office, gave him the supreme direction of his affairs[28].

This minion, however, was not so transported by his sudden elevation, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the advice of a friend, and found a judicious and sincere counsellor in sir Thomas Overbury, by whose means he enjoyed for a time, what is very rare, the highest favour of the prince without being hated by the people. To complete his happiness, he only wished for a kind mistress; the desired object soon appeared, in the person of lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, similar to himself in weakness of understanding, and more than equal in personal attractions.

This lady, when about thirteen years of age, had un-

28 Wilson's *Life of James*.

fortunately been married to the earl of Essex, from the king's too eager desire of uniting the families of Howard and Devereux; and as her husband was only fourteen, it was thought proper to send him on his travels till they should arrive at the age of puberty. But such separations are always dangerous, whatever may be the age of the parties. Marriage awakens certain ideas in the female mind, which are best composed in the arms of a husband. Of this truth, Essex had melancholy experience. Lady Frances, during his absence, had opened her heart to the allurements of love; and although, on his return to England, after travelling four years, he was pleased to find his countess in all the bloom of youth and beauty, he had the mortification to discover that her affections were totally alienated from him. Though forced by her parents to share his bed, she persisted in denying him the dues of marriage. At length disgusted by such coldness, he separated himself from her, and left her to pursue her own inclinations. This was what she eagerly desired. The high fortune and splendid accomplishments of the favourite had taken entire possession of her soul: and she thought that, so long as she refused to consummate her marriage with Essex, she could never be deemed his wife; consequently, that a separation and divorce might still open the way to a marriage with her beloved Rochester. He himself was of the same opinion, and also desirous of such an union. Though the violence of their passion was such, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, and though they had frequent opportunities of intercourse, they began to feel themselves unhappy, because the tie between them was not indissoluble, and seem both to have been alike impatient to crown their attachment with the sanction of the church. A divorce was accordingly procured, through the influence of the king, and the co-operation of Essex; and, in order to preserve the countess from losing her

rank by her new marriage, Rochester was created earl of Somerset[29].

This amour and its consequences afford an awful lesson on the fatal effects of licentious love; but at the same time prove, that vice is less dangerous than folly in the intercourse of the sexes, when connected with the intrigues of a court. Though sir Thomas Overbury, without any scruple, had encouraged his friend's passion for the countess of Essex, while he considered it merely as an affair of gallantry, his prudence was alarmed at the idea of marriage. And he represented to Rochester, not only how invidious and difficult an undertaking it would prove to get her divorced from her husband, but how shameful it would be to take to his own bed a profligate woman, who, although married to a young man of high rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and bestow her favours on the object of a capricious and momentary impulse; on a lover who, she must suppose, would desert her on the first variable gust of loose desire.

Rochester was so weak as to reveal this conversation to the countess, and so base as to enter into her vindictive views; to swear vengeance against his friend for the strongest instance that he could give of his fidelity. Some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their diabolical scheme. Overbury's conduct was misrepresented to the king, who granted a warrant for committing him to the tower; where he lay till the divorce was procured, and Rochester's marriage with the countess celebrated. Nor did this success, or the misery of the prisoner, who was not permitted to see even his nearest relatives, satisfy the vengeance of that violent woman. She engaged her husband, and her great uncle the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking off Overbury by poison[30]; and they, in conjunction with

A. D. 1612.

29 Franklin.—Wilson.—*State Trials*, vol. i.

30 *State Trials*, vol. i.

sir Gervase Elwais, lieutenant of the Tower, at length effected their cruel purpose.

Though the precipitation of Overbury's funeral immediately excited a strong suspicion of the cause of his death, the crime was not fully brought to light

A. D. 1615.

till some years after; when it was discovered by means of an apothecary's servant, who had been employed in making up the poisons, and the whole labyrinth of guilt distinctly traced to its source [31].

But although Somerset had so long escaped the inquiry of justice, he had not escaped the scrutiny of conscience, which continually pointed to him his murdered friend; and, even within the circle of a court, and amid the blandishments of flattery and love, struck him with the representation of his secret enormity, and diffused over his mind a deep melancholy, incapable of being dispelled by the smiles of beauty or by the rays of royal favour. The graces of his person gradually disappeared, and his gaiety and politeness were lost in sullenness and silence.

The king, whose affections had been caught by these superficial accomplishments, finding his favourite no longer contribute to his amusement, and unable to account for so remarkable a change, more readily listened to the accusations brought against him. A rigorous inquiry was ordered; and Somerset and his countess were found guilty, but pardoned through the indiscreet lenity of James. They languished out their remaining years, which were many and miserable, in infamy and obscurity; alike hating and hated by each other [32]. Sir Gervase Elwais and the inferior criminals suffered the punishment due to their guilt.

31 *State Trials*, vol. i. 32 Wilson.

LETTER II.

Of the Affairs of England and Scotland, from the Rise of the Duke of Buckingham to the Death of James I. 1625.

THE fall of the earl of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for a new favourite to rise to the highest honours. George Villiers, a young English gentleman, of an engaging figure, had already attracted the eye of James, and had been appointed cup-bearer. This office might well have contented Villiers, and have attached him to the king's person; nor would such a choice have been censured, except by the cynically severe[1]. But the profuse bounty of James induced him, in the course of a few years, contrary to all the rules of prudence and politics, to create his minion viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England[2].

This rapid advancement of Villiers, which rendered him for ever rash and insolent, involved the king in new necessities, in order to supply the extravagance of his minion. A price had been already affixed to every rank of nobility, and the title of Baronet invented, and currently sold for one thousand pounds, to supply the profusion of Somerset[3]. Some new expedient was now re-

1 James, who affected sagacity and design in his most trifling concerns, insisted, we are told, on the ceremony of the queen's soliciting this office for Villiers, as an apology to the world for his sudden predilection in favour of the youth.—Coke, p. 46.

2 Franklin, p. 30.—Clarendon, vol. i.

3 Franklin, p. 11.

quisite; and one very unpopular, though certainly less disgraceful than the former, was embraced: the cautionary towns[4] were delivered up to the Dutch for a sum of money. Part of their debt, which at one time amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, was already discharged; and the remainder, after making an allowance for the annual expense of the garrisons, was agreed to be paid on the surrender of the fortresses[5]. This seems to have been all that impartial justice could demand; yet the English in general were highly dissatisfied with the transaction; and it must be owned, that a politic prince would have been slow in relinquishing possessions, on whatever conditions obtained, which enabled him to hold in a degree of subjection so considerable a neighbouring state as the republic of Holland.

A.D. 1616.

The next measure in which James engaged rendered him as unpopular in Scotland as he was already in England. It was an attempt to establish a conformity in worship and discipline between the churches of the two kingdoms; a project which he had long revolved in his mind, and towards the completion of which he had taken some introductory steps. But the principal part of the business was reserved till the king should pay a visit to his native country. Such a journey he now undertook. This naturally leads us to consider the affairs of Scotland.

A.D. 1617.

It might have been readily foreseen by the Scots, when the crown of England devolved upon James, that the in-

4 See Part I. Let. LXXI.

5 Winwood, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. i.—Mrs. Macaulay thinks that Elizabeth acted very ungenerously in demanding any thing from the Dutch for the assistance she lent them: "It ought, by all the obligations of virtue, to have been a free gift." That the English queen took advantage of the necessities of the infant republic, to obtain possession of the cautionary towns, is certain; and the Dutch, when they became more opulent, took advantage of James's necessities to recover them. Justice and generosity were in both cases, as in most transactions between nations, entirely out of the question.

dependence of their kingdom, for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would thenceforth be lost; and that, if both kingdoms should persevere in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker must feel its inferiority more sensibly than if it had been subdued by force of arms. But this idea did not generally occur to the Scottish nobles, formerly so jealous of the power as well as of the prerogatives of their princes; and as James was daily giving new proofs of his friendship and partiality to his countrymen, by loading them with riches and honours, the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power in taming their fierce and independent spirits. The will of the king became the supreme law in Scotland. Meanwhile the nobles, left in full possession of their feudal jurisdiction over their own vassals, exhausting their fortunes by the expense of frequent attendance upon the English court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people; who hardly dared to utter complaints, which they knew would never reach the ear of their sovereign, or would be rendered too feeble to move him to grant them redress[6]. Thus subjected at once to the absolute will of a monarch, and to the oppressive jurisdiction of an aristocracy, Scotland suffered all the miseries peculiar to both these forms of government. Its kings were despots, its nobles were slaves and tyrants, and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both[7].

There was one privilege, however, which the Scottish nobility in general, and the great body of the people, were equally zealous in protecting against the encroachments

6 Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.—Hume's *Hist. Eng.* vol. vi.

7 Before the accession of James to the throne of England, the feudal aristocracy subsisted in full force in Scotland. Then the vassals both of the king and of the nobles, from mutual jealousy, were courted and caressed by their superiors, whose power and importance depended on their attachment and fidelity. Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii.

of the crown, namely, the independence of their *kirk* or church. The cause of this zeal deserves to be traced.

Divines differ in their opinions respecting the government of the primitive church. It appears, however, to have been that of the most perfect equality among the Christian teachers, who were distinguished by the name of *presbyters*, an appellation expressive of their gravity and wisdom, as well as of their age. But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate. Being soon sensible of this, the primitive Christians were induced to choose one of the wisest and most holy of their presbyters, to execute the duties of an ecclesiastical governor; and, to avoid the trouble and confusion of annual or occasional elections, his office was continued during life, unless in cases of degradation on account of irregularity of conduct. His jurisdiction consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church; in the superintendence of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; in the consecration of Christian teachers, to whom the ecclesiastical governor or *bishop* assigned their respective functions; in the management of the public funds, and in the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose to the heathen world[8]. This appears to have been the origin of the episcopal hierarchy, which rose to such an enormous height under the Christian emperors and Roman pontiffs.

When the enormities of the church of Rome, by rousing the indignation of the enlightened part of mankind, had called forth the spirit of reformation, the abhorrence excited by the vices of the clergy was soon transferred to

8 See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, cent. i, ii. and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, lib. vii. et seq.—A bishop, during the first and second centuries, was only a president in a council of presbyters, and the head of one Christian assembly; and whenever the episcopal chair became vacant, a new president was chosen from among the presbyters, by the suffrage of the whole congregation.

their persons; and thence, by no violent transition, to the offices which they enjoyed. It may therefore be presumed, that the same holy fervour which abolished the doctrines of the Romish church, would also have overturned its ecclesiastical government, in every country where the Reformation was received, unless restrained by the civil power. In England, in great part of Germany, and in the northern kingdoms, such restraint was imposed on it by the policy of their princes; so that the ancient episcopal jurisdiction, under a few limitations, was retained in the churches of those countries. But in Switzerland and the Netherlands, where the nature of the government allowed full scope to the spirit of reformation, all pre-eminence of rank in the church was destroyed, and an ecclesiastical government established, more suitable to the genius of a republican policy. This system, which has since been called *presbyterian*, was formed upon the model of the primitive church.

It ought, however, to be remarked, that the genius of the reformers, as well as the spirit of the reformation and the civil polity, had a share in the establishment of the presbyterian system. Zuinglius and Calvin, the apostles of Switzerland, were men of a more austere turn of mind than Luther, whose doctrines were generally embraced in England, Germany, and the north of Europe, where episcopacy still prevails. The church of Geneva, formed under the eye of Calvin, was esteemed the most perfect model of presbyterian government; and Knox, the apostle of Scotland, who, during his residence in that city, had studied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen. The Scottish converts, detesting popery, and being under no apprehensions from the civil power, which the rage of reformation had humbled, ardently adopted a system so admirably suited to their predominant passion. Its effects on their minds were truly astonishing, if not altogether prœternatural.

A mode of worship, the most naked and simple imaginable, which, borrowing nothing from the senses, leaves the mind to repose itself entirely on the contemplation of the divine essence, was soon observed to produce great commotions in the breast, and in some instances to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Straining for those ecstatic raptures, the supposed operations of that divine Spirit by which they imagined themselves to be animated; reaching them by short glances, and sinking again under the weakness of humanity; the first presbyterians in Scotland were so much occupied in this mental exercise, that they not only rejected the aid of all exterior pomp and ceremony, but fled from every cheerful amusement, and beheld with horror the approach of corporeal delight[9].

It was this gloomy fanaticism, which had by degrees infected all ranks of men, and introduced a sullen obstinate spirit into the people, that chiefly induced James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and cheerful religion of the church of England. He had early experienced the insolence of the presbyterian clergy, who, under the appearance of poverty and sanctity, and a zeal for the glory of God, and the safety and purity of the kirk, had concealed the most dangerous censorial and inquisitorial powers, which they sometimes exercised with all the arrogance of a Roman consistory.

When James, by the advice of a convention of estates, had granted permission (in 1596) to Huntley, Errol, and other catholic noblemen who had been banished from Scotland, to return on giving security for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour, a committee of the general assembly of the kirk had the audacity to write circular letters to all the presbyteries, commanding them to publish in every pulpit an act of excommunication against the popish lords, and enjoining them to lay all those who were *suspected* of fa-

9 Keith.—Knox.

vouring popery under the *same censure* by a *summary sentence*, and *without observing* the *usual formalities* of *trial*[10]! On this occasion one of the ministers declared from the pulpit, that the king, in permitting the popish lords to return, had discovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the court[11]! Another affirmed, in the principal church of the capital, that the king was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand[12]!

In consequence of these inflammatory speeches and audacious proceedings, the citizens of Edinburgh rose, and surrounding the court of session, in which the king happened to be present, demanded some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. On his refusal, some called, "Bring out the wicked Haman!" while others cried, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" And James was for some time a prisoner in the heart of his own capital, and at the mercy of the enraged populace[13].

But the king's behaviour on that occasion, which was firm and manly, as well as politic, restored him to the good opinion of his subjects in general. The populace dispersed, on his promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular form; and this fanatical insurrection, instead of overturning, served only to establish the royal authority. Those who were concerned in it, as soon as their enthusiastic rage had subsided, were filled with apprehension and terror, at the thoughts of insulted majesty; while the body of the people, in order to avoid suspicion, or to gain the favour of their prince, contended who should be most forward to execute his vengeance[14].

A convention of estates pronounced the late insurrection to be high treason; ordered every clergyman to subscribe

10 Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* vol. ii. 11 Id. ibid. 12 Spotswood.
13 Robertson's *Hist. Scot.* book viii. vol. ii. 14 Id. Ibid.

a declaration of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to imprison any minister who in his sermons should utter indecent reflections on the king's conduct, and prohibited every ecclesiastical judicature from meeting without the king's licence. These ordinances were confirmed by the general assembly of the kirk, which also declared sentences of summary excommunication unlawful, and vested in the crown the right of nominating ministers to the parishes in the principal towns[15].

These were great and necessary steps; and perhaps James should have proceeded no farther in altering the government or worship of the church of Scotland. But he was not yet satisfied: he wished to bring it nearer to the episcopal model; and, after various struggles, he acquired sufficient influence over the presbyterian clergy, even before he ascended the English throne, to procure an act from their general assembly, declaring those ministers, on whom the king should confer the vacant bishoprics and abbeys, entitled to a vote in parliament[16]. Nor did he stop here. No sooner was he established in his new dignity, than he engaged them, though with still greater reluctance, to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents, or moderators, in the synods.

The repugnance of the presbyterian clergy to episcopacy was still, however, very great: nor could all the devices invented for restraining and circumscribing the spiritual jurisdiction of those who were to be raised to these new honours, or the hope of sharing them, allay their jealousy and fear[17]. James was therefore sensible, that he

15 Spotswood, p. 433. 16 Spotswood, p. 450.

17 Perhaps the presbyterian clergy might have been less obstinate in rejecting James's scheme of uniformity, had any prospect remained of recovering the patrimony of the church. But that, they knew, had been torn in pieces by the rapacious nobility and gentry, and at their own instigation; so that all hopes of a restitution of church-lands had vanished; and, without such restitution, the ecclesiastical dignities could scarcely become the objects of strong ambition.

never could establish a conformity in worship and discipline, between the churches of England and Scotland, until he could procure from the Scottish parliament an acknowledgement of his own supremacy in all ecclesiastical causes. This was the principal object of his visit to his native country: where he proposed to the national council the enactment of a statute, declaring, that "whatever his majesty should determine in regard to the "external government of the church, with the consent "of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of "the ministers, should have the force of a law[18]." June 15.

Had this bill received the sanction of parliament, the king's ecclesiastical government would have been established in its full extent, as it was not determined what number of the clergy should be deemed competent, and their nomination was left entirely to himself. Some of them protested: they apprehended that, by means of this new authority, the purity of their church would be polluted with all the rites and forms of the church of England; and James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped his favourite measure. He was able, however, to extort a vote from the general assembly A.D. 1618. of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly set; namely, kneeling at the sacrament, the private administration of it to sick persons, the confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals[19]. Thus, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant forms, the king betrayed, though in an opposite manner, an equal narrowness of mind with the presbyterian clergy, whom he affected to hold in contempt. The constrained consent of the general assembly was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people: even the few, over whom religious prejudices had less influence, thought national honour sacrificed by

18 Spotswood.—Franklin. 19 Spotswood.—Franklin.

a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England.

A series of unpopular measures conspired to increase that odium, into which James had now fallen in both kingdoms, and which continued to the end of his reign. The first of these was the execution of sir Walter Raleigh.

This extraordinary man, who suggested the first idea of the English colonies in North America, and who had attempted, as early as the year 1584, a settlement in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, then considered as part of Virginia, had also made a voyage, in 1595, to Guiana in South America. The extravagant account which he published of the riches of the latter country, where no valuable mines have yet been discovered, has drawn much censure upon his veracity; particularly his description of the apparently fabulous empire and city of Manoa or El-Dorado, the sovereign of which, he pretended to suppose, possessed more treasure than the Spaniards had drawn from both Mexico and Peru[20].

Raleigh's motive for uttering these splendid falsities seems to have been a desire of turning the avidity of his countrymen toward that quarter of the New World where the Spaniards had found the precious metals in such abundance. This, indeed, sufficiently appears from his relation of certain Peruvian prophecies, expressly pointing out the English as the conquerors and deliverers of the rich country which he had discovered. As he was known, however, to be a man of a romantic turn of mind, and it did not appear that he had enriched himself by his voyage, little regard seems to have been paid to his narrative either by Elizabeth or the nation. But after he had languished many years in confinement, as a punishment for his conspiracy against James; when the envy excited by his superior talents

20. See his *Relat.* in Hackluyt's *Collect.*

had subsided, and commiseration was awakened for his unhappy condition; a report which he propagated of a wonderfully rich gold mine that he formerly had discovered in Guiana obtained general belief. People of all ranks were impatient to take possession of a country overflowing with the precious metals, and to which the nation was supposed to have a right by priority of discovery.

The king, by his own account, gave little credit to this report, not only because he believed there was no such mine in nature as the one described, but because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortune, whose business it was by any means to procure his freedom, and reinstate himself in credit and authority [21]. Thinking, however, that he had undergone sufficient punishment, James ordered him to be released from the Tower: and when the hopes held out to the nation had induced multitudes to adopt his views, the king gave him permission to pursue the projected enterprise, and invested him with authority over his fellow-adventurers; but being still diffident of his intentions, he refused to grant him a pardon, that he might have some check upon his future conduct[22].

The preparations made, in consequence of this commission, alarmed Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador; and although Raleigh protested the innocence of his intentions, and James declared that he had prohibited all invasion of the settlements of his Catholic majesty, that minister sent to his court intelligence of the expedition, and stated his apprehensions from it. Twelve armed vessels, he justly concluded, could not be fitted out without some purpose of hostility; and as Spain was then the only European power that had possessions in that part of America to which this fleet was destined, orders were given by the court of Madrid for fortifying all its settlements on or near the coast of Guiana.

21 King James's *Vindication*, in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. 2.
22 King James's *Vindication* in the *Harl. Miscell.*

It soon appeared that this precaution was not unnecessary. Though Raleigh's commission empowered him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants, he steered his course directly for the river Oronoco, where he knew there was a Spanish town named St. Thomas; and, without any provocation, sent a detachment under his son and his old associate captain Keymis, who had accompanied him in his former voyage, to dislodge the Spaniards, and take possession of that town; while he himself, with the larger vessels, guarded the mouth of the river, and obstructed the relief of the place[23]. The Spaniards, apprised of this invasion, opposed the landing of the English; as they had foreseen. Young Raleigh was killed by a shot, while animating his followers: Keymis, however, and his surviving companions, not dismayed by the unfortunate accident, took, plundered, and burned St. Thomas; but found in it no booty adequate to their expectations[24].

It might have been expected that these bold adventurers, having overcome all opposition, would now have gone in quest of their grand object, the gold mine, with which Keymis was said to be as well acquainted as Raleigh. But, although that officer affirmed that he was within a few miles of the place, he refused, under the most absurd pre-

23 These particulars may be distinctly collected from the king's *Vindication*, and Raleigh's *Apology*.

24 In apology for this violence, it has been said, that the Spaniards had built the town of St. Thomas in a country originally discovered by Raleigh, and therefore he had a right to dispossess them. Admitting that to be the case, Raleigh could never be excusable in making war without any commission empowering him so to do, much less in invading the Spanish settlements contrary to his commission. But the fact is otherwise: the Spaniards had frequently visited the coast of Guiana before Raleigh touched upon it. Even as early as the year 1499, Alonzo de Ojedo and Americus Vespucius had landed in different parts of that coast, and made some excursions up the country (Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 1, 2); and the great Columbus himself had discovered the mouth of the Oronoco some years before. Between three and four hundred Spaniards are said to have been killed by Keymis and his party, at the sacking of St. Thomas. "This is the *true mine!*" said young Raleigh, as he rushed on to the attack;—"and none but fools looked for any other." Howell's *Letters*, vol. ii.

tences, to carry his companions thither, or to take any effectual step for again finding it himself. Struck, as it should seem, with the atrocity of his conduct, and with his embarrassing situation, he immediately returned to Raleigh with the sorrowful news of his son's death, and the disappointment of his followers. The interview, it may be conjectured, was not the most agreeable that could have ensued between the parties. Under the strong agitation of mind which it occasioned, Keymis, keenly sensible to reproach, and foreseeing disgrace, if not an ignominious death, as the reward of his violence and imposture, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his life.

The sequel of this delusive and pompous expedition it is still more painful to relate. The adventurers in general now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that the story of the mine had only been invented to afford him a pretext for pillaging St. Thomas, the spoils of which, he hoped, would encourage his followers to proceed to the plunder of other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortune by such daring enterprises, trusting to the riches he should acquire for obtaining a pardon from James; or, if that prospect failed, intended to take refuge in some foreign country, where his wealth would secure him an asylum[25]. The inconsiderable booty gained in that town, however, discouraged his followers from embracing these splendid projects, though it appears that he had employed many artifices to engage them in his designs. Besides, they saw a palpable absurdity in a fleet, acting under the sanction of royal authority, committing depredations against the allies of the crown: they therefore thought it safest, whatever might be their inclinations, or how great soever their disappointment, to return immediately to England, and carry their leader with them to answer for his conduct.

25 See the king's *Vindication.*

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

On the examination of Raleigh and his companions, before the privy council, where the foregoing facts were brought to light, it appeared that the king's suspicions of his intentions had been well grounded; that, in defiance of his instructions, he had committed hostilities against the subjects of the king of Spain, and had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to that prince; so that he might have been tried either by common law for this act of violence, or by martial law for breach of orders. But it was the opinion of the crown-lawyers, as we learn from Bacon[26], that, as Raleigh still lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. James, therefore, in order to satisfy the court of Madrid, which was very clamorous on this occasion, signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh's behaviour, since his return, had hitherto been beneath the dignity of his character. He had counterfeited madness and a variety of disorders, with a view of delaying his examination, and procuring the means of escape. But finding his fate inevitable, he now collected all his courage, and met death with the most heroic indifference. Feeling the edge of the axe with which he was to be beheaded, "'Tis a sharp remedy," said he, "but a sure "one for all ills!" then calmly laid his head on the block, and received the fatal blow[27].

Of all the transactions of a reign distinguished by public discontent, this was perhaps the most odious. Men of every class were filled with indignation against the court. Even such as acknowledged the justice of Raleigh's punishment, blamed the measure. They thought it cruel to execute a sentence, originally severe, and tacitly pardoned, which had been so long suspended; and they considered it as mean and impolitic, even though a new trial had

26 See *Original Letters*, &c. published by Dr. Birch, p. 181.

27 Franklin.

been instituted, to sacrifice to a concealed enemy of England the only man in the kingdom whose reputation was high for valour and military experience.

Unhappily for James, the intimate connexions which he was endeavouring to form with Spain increased the public dissatisfaction. Gondomar, a man capable of the most artful flattery, and no stranger to the king's hereditary pride, had proposed a match between the prince of Wales and the second daughter of his Catholic majesty; and, to render the temptation irresistible to the English monarch, whose necessities were well known, he gave hopes of an immense fortune with the Spanish princess. Allured by the prospect of that alliance, James, it has been affirmed, was not only induced to bring Raleigh to the block, but to abandon his son-in-law the Palatine, and the protestant interest in Germany, to the ambition of the house of Austria. The latter suspicion completed the odium occasioned by the former, and roused the attention of parliament.

We have formerly had occasion to treat of the conduct and the misfortunes of Frederic, the elector Palatine, who was driven from Bohemia, and dispossessed of his hereditary dominions, by the power of the emperor, supported by the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, in spite of all the efforts of the German Protestants and the Dutch[28]. The news of these disasters no sooner reached England than the voice of the nation was loud against the king's inactivity. People of all ranks were on fire to engage in the defence of the distressed Palatine, and rescue their protestant brethren from the persecutions of the idolatrous Catholics, their implacable and cruel enemies. In this quarrel they would cheerfully have marched to the extremity of Europe, have inconsiderately plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and

A. D. 1620.

28 See Part I. Letter LXXVI.

freely have expended the blood and treasure of the kingdom. They therefore regarded James's neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and of his holy religion; without reflecting, that their interference in the wars of the continent, however agreeable to pious zeal, could not be justified on any sound maxims of policy.

The king's ideas, relative to this matter, were not more liberal than those of his subjects; but happily, for once, they were more friendly to the welfare of the nation. Shocked at the revolt of a people against their prince, he refused, on that account, to patronise the Bohemian Protestants, or to bestow on his son-in-law the title of king[29]; although he owned that he had not examined their pretensions, privileges, or constitution. To have withdrawn their allegiance from their sovereign, under any circumstances whatever, was, in his eyes, an enormous crime, and a sufficient reason for withholding all support from them; as if subjects must be ever in the wrong, when they act in opposition to those who have acquired or assumed authority over them, how much soever that authority may have been abused!

The Spanish match is likewise allowed to have had some influence upon the political sentiments of James, on this occasion. He flattered himself that, in consequence of his son's marriage with the infanta, and the close connexions it would form between England and Spain, besides other advantages, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured from motives of mere friendship. The principal members of the house of commons, however, thought very differently: the projected marriage was the great object of their terror. They saw no good that could result from it, but were apprehensive of a multitude of evils, which, as the guardians of public liberty and general hap-

29 It was a very dangerous precedent, he said, against all Christian kings, to allow the transfer of a crown by the people. Franklin, p. 48.

piness, they thought it their duty to prevent. They accordingly framed a remonstrance to the king, representing the enormous growth of the Austrian power as dangerous to the liberties of Europe, and lamenting the rapid progress of the Catholic religion in England; and they entreated his majesty instantly to take arms in defence of the Palatine; to turn his sword against Spain, whose treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest over Europe; and to exclude all hope of the toleration or re-establishment of popery in the kingdom, by entering into no negotiation for the marriage of his son Charles, but with a Protestant princess. Yet more effectually to extinguish that idolatrous worship, they requested that the fines and confiscations, to which the Catholics were subject by law, should be levied with the utmost rigour; and that the children of such as refused to conform to the established worship should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of Protestant divines and schoolmasters [30].

A.D. 1621.

Without waiting for the offer of these instructions, which militated against his favourite maxims of government, the enraged monarch wrote to the speaker of the house of commons, commanding him to admonish the members, in his majesty's name, not to *presume* to *meddle* with any thing that *regarded* his *government*, or with deep matters of state, as above their reach and capacity; and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any other of his friends and confederates. Conscious of their strength and popularity, the commons were rather roused than intimidated by this imperious letter. With a new remonstrance they returned the former, which had been withdrawn; and maintained, that they were entitled to *interpose* with their *counsel* in *all matters of government*; and that a perfect

30 Rushworth, vol. i.

freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their *ancient* and *undoubted right*, and an *inheritance* transmitted to them *from* their *ancestors*[31].

The king's reply was keen and ready. He told the commons, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful and loyal subjects; that their pretensions to inquire into all state affairs, without exception, was a *plenipotence* to which none of their ancestors, even during the weakest reigns, had ever dared to aspire: and he closed his answer with the following memorable words, which discover a considerable share of political sagacity: "Although we cannot allow of your style, "in mentioning your *ancient* and *undoubted right* and *in-* "*heritance*, but would rather have wished that ye had "said, that your privileges were derived from the grace "and permission of our ancestors and us (for the most of "them grew from precedents, which show rather a tole- "ration than inheritance); yet we are pleased to give "you our royal assurance, that, as long as you contain "yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as "careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties "and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, "nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative[31]."

Alarmed at this dangerous insinuation, that their privileges were derived from royal favour, the commons framed a protest, in which they opposed pretension to pretension, and declared, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and "jurisdictions of parliament, were the ancient and un- "doubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of "England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs con- "cerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and "of the church of England, and the maintenance and "making of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily "happened within this realm, were proper subjects, and

31 Rushworth, ubi sup. 32 Franklin.—Rushworth.

" matter of counsel or debate, in parliament; and that,
" in the handling and proceeding on these businesses,
" every member of the house of parliament had, and of
" right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound,
" treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same [33]."

Thus, my dear Philip, was fully opened, between the king and parliament, the grand dispute concerning privilege and prerogative, which gave birth to the *court* and *country parties*, and which so long occupied the tongues, the pens, and even swords, of the most able and active men in the nation. Without entering deeply into this dispute (of which you must make yourself master by consulting the controversial writers), or joining either party, it may be observed, that if our ancestors, from the violent invasion of William the Norman to the period of which we are treating, did not enjoy so perfect, or perhaps so extensive a system of liberty, as since the Revolution of 1688, they were at no time *legally* subject to the rule of an absolute sovereign; and that, although the victorious arms and insidious policy of a foreign and hostile prince obliged them, in the hour of misfortune, to submit to his ambitious sway, and to the tyrannical laws which he afterward thought proper to impose upon the nation, the spirit of liberty was never extinguished in the breasts of Englishmen. They still looked back, with admiration and regret, to their independent condition under their native princes, and to the freedom of their Saxon forefathers; and, as soon as circumstances would permit, they compelled their princes, of the Norman line, to restore to them the most essential of their former laws, privileges, and immunities. These *original rights*, as we have seen, were repeatedly confirmed to them by *charter*; and if they were also frequently violated by encroaching princes, those infractions ought never to be pleaded as precedents, every such violation being a

33 Rushworth, vol. i.

flagrant act of injustice and perjury, as every king, by his coronation oath, was solemnly bound to maintain the national charters. Nor did the people, keenly sensible of those injuries and insults, fail to avenge themselves, as often as it was in their power, on the invaders of their liberties, or to take new measures for their future security.

So far we may speak with certainty. But, whether the commons were at first admitted into parliament through the indulgence of the prince, or in consequence of an original right to sit there, and what they claimed as their constitutional province, are points of greater intricacy and less moment. That subject, however, I have had occasion to consider in some former epistles [34]. It will, therefore, be sufficient here to observe, that the English government was never a mere monarchy; that there was always a parliament or national assembly; and the commons, or third estate, had very early, and as soon as they were of any political importance, a place in that assembly; and that the privileges for which they now contended were necessary to enable them to act with dignity, or indeed in such a manner as to be useful to the community, either in their deliberative or legislative capacity.

The subsequent transactions of this reign were neither numerous nor very important. They afford, however, a picture of the weakness and extravagance of human nature, and therefore merit our attention, as observers of the manners as well as of the policy of nations, and of the vices and follies no less than of the respectable qualities of men.

The Spanish match was still the king's favourite object; and he ordered lord Digby (afterward earl of Bristol), his ambassador at the court of Madrid, to recommend and expedite that measure, while he softened at home the severity of the laws against popish recusants. The same religious motives which had hitherto

A.D. 1622.

34 See Part I. Let. XXIV. XXXI. XXXIII. and XXXVI.

disinclined the Spaniards to the marriage, now disposed them to promote it. They hoped to see the Catholic church freed from persecution, if not the ancient worship re-established in England, by means of the infanta: and so full were they of this idea, that Bristol, a vigilant and discerning minister, assured his master not only that the Palatine would be restored to his dominions, but, what was still more agreeable to the needy monarch, that a dowry of two millions of pesos, or about five hundred thousand pounds sterling, would accompany the royal bride[35].

This alliance, however, was still odious to the English nation; and Buckingham, jealous of the reputation of Bristol, by a most absurd adventure contrived to ruin both him and the negotiation. To ingratiate himself with the prince of Wales, with whose candid turn of mind he was well acquainted, he represented to him the peculiar unhappiness of princes in commonly receiving to their arms an unknown bride—one not endeared by sympathy, or obliged by services, wooed by treaties alone, and attached by no ties but those of political interest! that it was in his power, by visiting Spain in person, to avoid all these inconveniences, and to lay such an obligation on the infanta, if he found her really worthy of his love, as could not fail to warm the coldest affections; that his journey to Madrid, so conformable to the generous ideas of Spanish gallantry, would recommend him to the princess under the endearing character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer; and, at the same time, would afford him a desirable opportunity of choosing for himself, and of examining with his own senses the companion of his future life, and the partner of his bed and throne[36]. A. D. 1623.

35 Rushworth, vol. i.—The marriage and the restitution of the Palatinate, we are assured by the most undoubted testimony, were always considered by the court of Spain as inseparable. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 66.—Franklin, p. 71, 72.

36 Clarendon, vol. i.

These arguments made a deep impression on the affectionate temper of Charles. He obtained, in an unguarded hour, his father's consent to the Spanish journey; and the two adventurers departed, to the great uneasiness of James; who, as soon as he had leisure for reflection, apprehended bad consequences from the unbridled spirit of Buckingham, and the youth and inexperience of his son. For a time, however, the affairs of the prince of Wales wore a very promising aspect at Madrid. Philip IV. one of the most magnificent monarchs that ever sat on the Spanish throne, paid Charles a visit immediately on his arrival, and expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occasion and in every place, except in the apartments assigned to Charles; a distinction founded on the most perfect principles of politeness: "For here," said Philip, "you are at home!" He was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain at their coronation. All the gaols were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the most fortunate and honourable event had happened to the monarchy [37].

Independent of his enthusiastic gallantry towards the infanta, and the unparalleled confidence which he had placed in the honour of the Spanish nation by his romantic journey to Madrid, the decent reserve and modest deportment of Charles endeared him to that grave and formal people, and inspired them with the most favourable ideas of his character; while the bold manner, the unrestrained freedom of discourse, the sallies of passion, the levity and the licentiousness of Buckingham, entailed upon him the

37 Franklin, p. 74.—Rushworth, vol. i.

odium of the whole court. The grandees could not conceal their surprise, that such an unprincipled young man, who seemed to respect no laws divine or human, should be allowed to obtrude himself into a negotiation, already almost conducted to a happy issue by so able a statesman as the earl of Bristol: and the ministry hinted a doubt of the sufficiency of his powers, as they had not been confirmed by the privy council of England, in order to prevent him from assuming the merit of the matrimonial treaty. He grossly insulted, and publicly quarreled with, the duke d'Olivarez; a circumstance that rendered him still more obnoxious to the Spanish courtiers, who contemplated with horror the infanta's future condition, in being exposed to the approaches of such a brutal man [38].

Sensible how much he was hated by the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the court of Madrid would acquire in England, in consequence of the projected marriage, Buckingham resolved to poison the mind of the prince, and, if possible, prevent the nuptials from taking place:—and he effected his purpose. But history has not informed us by what arguments he induced Charles to offer so heinous an affront to the Spanish nation, after such generous treatment, and to the infanta, whom he had gone so far to visit, and for whom he had hitherto expressed the warmest attachment. In regard to those we are totally in the dark. For, although we may conjecture, from his subsequent conduct, that they were of the political kind, we only know with certainty, that when the prince of Wales left Madrid, he was firmly determined to break off the treaty with Spain, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary; that, when the duke arrived in England, he ascribed the failure of the negotiation solely to the insincerity and duplicity of the Spaniards; that, by means of these false representations, to which the king and his

38 Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. i.

son meanly gave their assent, he ingratiated himself with the popular party; and that the nation eagerly rushed into a war against the Spanish monarchy, to revenge insults which it had never sustained [39].

The situation of the earl of Bristol, at the court of Madrid, was now truly pitiable; nor were the domestic concerns of that court a little distressing, or the English monarch's embarrassment small. To abandon a project, which had for many years been the chief object of his wishes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to so desirable a crisis,—to be embroiled with Spain, and lose two millions of pesos,—were prospects by no means agreeable to the pacific temper and indigent condition of James: but finding his only son averse to a match which had always been odious to his people, and opposed by his parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he wanted courage or strength of mind to overcome.

It was now the business of Charles and the duke to seek for pretences, by which they might give some appearance of justice to their intended breach of treaty. They accordingly employed many artifices, in order to delay or prevent the espousals: and all these proving ineffectual, Bristol at last received positive orders not to deliver the proxy which had been left in his hands, before security should be given for the full restitution of the Palatinate [40]. The king of Spain understood this language. He was acquainted with Buckingham's disgust, and had expected that the violent disposition and unbounded influence of that favourite would leave nothing unattempted to produce a rupture. Resolving, however, to demonstrate to all Europe the sincerity of his intentions, and to throw the blame where it was due, he delivered into Bristol's hands a written promise, binding himself to procure the restora-

39 Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. i.

40 Rushworth, vol. i—Wilson.

tion of the elector Palatine. And when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction to the court of England, he ordered the infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had borne after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; commanding at the same time, preparations for war to be made throughout his extensive dominions[41].

Bristol, who, during Charles's residence in Spain, had always opposed, though unsuccessfully, his own wise and well-tempered counsels to the impetuous measures suggested by Buckingham; and who, even after the prince's departure, had strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as on the advantages which England must reap from the completion of it; was enraged to find his zealous labours rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion. But he was not surprised to hear that the favourite had afterward declared himself his open enemy, and had thrown out many injurious reflections against him, both before the council and parliament. Conscious, however, of his own innocence, Bristol prepared to leave Madrid on the first order to that purpose; although Philip, sorry that this minister's enemies should have so far prevailed as to infuse prejudices into his master and his country against a servant who had so faithfully discharged his duty to both, entreated him to fix his residence in Spain, where he should enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune, rather than expose himself to the rancorous malice of his rival, and the ungovernable fury of the English populace.

The ambassador's reply was truly magnanimous. While he expressed the utmost gratitude for that princely offer, he thought himself obliged, he said, to decline it; that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than remaining at Madrid; and that the highest dig-

41 Rushworth, vol. i.

nity in the Spanish monarchy would be but a poor compensation for the loss of that honour, which he must endanger by such exaltation. Charmed with this answer, Philip begged the earl at least to accept a present of ten thousand ducats, which might be requisite for his support, until he could dissipate the calumnies of his enemies; observing at the same time, that his compliance might be for ever concealed from the knowledge both of his master and the public. "There is one person," replied the generous nobleman, "who must necessarily know it: "he is the earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to "the king of England[42]!"

The king was unworthy of such a servant. The earl, on his return, was immediately committed to the Tower. In vain did he demand an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master. Buckingham and the prince of Wales were inexorable, unless he would acknowledge his misconduct; a proposal which his high spirit rejected with disdain. After being released from confinement, he was therefore ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in parliament[43].

A. D. 1624.

In consequence of the rupture with Spain, and the hostile disposition of the parliament, the king entered into a confederacy with the French and the Dutch, for repressing the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate. A treaty of marriage was about the same time negotiated between the prince of Wales and Hen-

42 Franklin, p. 86.

43 Rushworth, vol. i.—James perhaps is more to be pitied than blamed for his ungenerous treatment of Bristol, after his return. Supported by the prince of Wales, as well as by the popular party in parliament, Buckingham exercised the most imperious despotism over the king, always timid, and now in the decline of life. Yet when the duke insisted on the earl's signing a confession of his misconduct, as the only means of regaining favour at court, James had the spirit and the equity to say, that it was "a horrible tyranny to make an innocent man declare himself guilty."

rietta of France, sister to Louis XIII., an accomplished princess, whom Charles had seen and admired in his way to Madrid, and who retained, during his whole life, a dangerous ascendency over him, by means of his too tender and affectionate heart[44].

This match was highly agreeable to James; who, although well acquainted with the antipathy of his subjects to any alliance with Catholics, persevered in a romantic opinion, suggested by hereditary pride, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction[45]. He did not live, however, to witness the celebration of the nuptials; but died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, soon after the armament under count Mansfeld had put to sea for the recovery of the Palatinate[46]. March 27, 1625.

That James was contemptible as a monarch must perhaps be allowed; but that he was so as a man, can by no means be admitted. His disposition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. He possessed a considerable share of learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are essential to form a respectable sovereign. His spirit, rather than his understanding, was weak; and perhaps only the loftiness of his pretensions, contrasted with the smallness of his kingly power, could have exposed him to ridi-

44 A secret passion for this princess had perhaps induced Charles, unknown to himself, to listen to the arguments of Buckingham, for breaking off the Spanish match; and, if the duke had discovered that passion, he would not fail to make use of it for accomplishing his purpose. Such a supposition forms the best apology for Charles's conduct in regard to the infanta.

45 Rushworth, vol. i.

46 The troops under Mansfeld's command embarked at Dover; but, sailing over to Calais, he found that no orders had been sent from court for their admission. After waiting in vain for such orders, he sailed towards Zealand, where the troops were likewise detained, as proper measures had not been taken for their debarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had broken out among the English soldiers, so long cooped up in narrow vessels. One half of the men died while on board; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too feeble a body to march into the Palatinate. Rushworth, vol. i.—Franklin, p. 104.

cule, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of his person, and the gross familiarity of his conversation. His turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both useful and ornamental; and that peace which he loved, and so timidly courted, was favourable to industry and commerce. It may therefore be confidently affirmed, that in no preceding period of the English monarchy was there a more sensible increase of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people than during the reign of this despised prince.

Of seven children, borne to him by Anne of Denmark, James left only one son, Charles I., and one daughter, Elizabeth, the unfortunate wife of the elector Palatine.—We must carry forward the history of our own island, my dear Philip, to the catastrophe of Charles, before we return to the affairs of the continent.

LETTER III.

Continuation of the History of England, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, in 1628.

A.D. 1625. AS Charles and the duke of Buckingham, by breaking off the Spanish match, and engaging the nation in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, had acquired the favour of the popular party in the house of commons, the young king was eager to meet the representatives of his people, that he might have an opportunity of showing himself to them in his new character, and of receiving a testimony of their dutiful attachment. Thus confident of the affection of his subjects, and not doubting that the parliament would afford him a liberal and voluntary supply, he employed no intrigue to influence the votes of the members. In his speech from the throne he slightly mentioned the exigencies of the state,

but would not suffer the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to name or solicit any particular sum; he left the whole to the generosity of the commons. But the commons had no generosity for Charles. Never was prince more deceived by placing confidence in any body of men. Though they knew that he was burthened with a large debt, contracted by his father; that he was engaged in a difficult and expensive war with the whole house of Austria; that this war was the result of their own importunate solicitations and entreaties; and that they had solemnly engaged to yield the necessary supplies for the support of it;—in order to answer all these great and important ends, and demonstrate their affection to their young sovereign, they granted him only two subsidies, amounting to about a hundred and twelve thousand pounds[1].

The causes of this excessive parsimony deserve to be traced. It is in vain to say, that, as war, during the feudal times, was supported by men, not money, the commons were not yet accustomed to open their purses. As the heads of the country party, sir Edward Coke, sir Edwin Sandys, sir Robert Philips, sir Francis Seymour, sir Dudley Digges, sir John Elliot, sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, were men of great talents and enlarged views, they must have been sensible, that, the feudal militia being now laid aside, naval and military enterprises could not be conducted without money. We must therefore look deeper for the motives of this cruel mockery of their young king, on his first appearance in parliament, and when his necessities, and the honour, if not the interest of the nation, seemed to call for the most liberal supply.

These enlightened patriots, animated with a warm love of liberty, saw with regret a too extensive authority exercised by the crown, and, regardless of former precedents,

1 *Cabala*, p. 224.

were determined to seise the opportunity which the present crisis might afford them of restraining the royal prerogative within more reasonable bounds, and securing the privileges of the people by more firm and precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. They accordingly resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince without extorting proportional concessions in favour of civil liberty. And how ungenerous soever such a conduct might seem, they conceived that it was fully justified by the beneficent end they had in view. The means were regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies, was the undoubted privilege of the commons; and as all human governments, especially those of a mixed kind, are in continual fluctuation, it was, in their opinion, as natural and allowable for popular assemblies to take advantage of favourable conjunctures, in order to secure the rights of the subject, as for sovereigns to make use of such occasions for the extension of the royal authority.

Beside these general arguments, the commons had reasons of a particular and personal nature, which induced them to be sparing in their aids to the crown. Though Buckingham, in order to screen himself from the resentment of James, who was enraged at his breaking off the Spanish match, had affected popularity, and entered into cabals with the puritans, they were always doubtful of his sincerity. Now secure of the confidence of Charles, he had realised their suspicions, by abandoning them; and was, on that account, the distinguished object of their hatred, as well as of their fears. They saw, with terror and concern, the whole power of administration grasped by his ambitious hand; while he governed his master more absolutely than he had influenced even the late king, and possessed in his single person the most considerable offices of the state. The rest were chiefly occupied by his numerous flatterers and dependants, whom his

violent temper prompted him to raise suddenly to the highest point of elevation, and to throw down, on the least occasion of displeasure, with equal impetuosity and violence. Disgusted with the failure of the expedition under Mansfeld, the commons were of opinion, that such ministers were not to be trusted with the management of a war, how laudable soever its object; for, allowing, what was very improbable, that success should attend their measures, the event was not less to be dreaded. A conquering army, in the hands of unprincipled men, might prove as dangerous to freedom as an invasion from a foreign enemy. Religion, at least, would be exposed to the utmost peril; religion, already insulted by the appearance of popish priests in their vestments, and the relaxation of the laws against recusants, in consequence of the alliance with France[2], at a time when the peace of many an honest mind was disturbed by being obliged to conform to the more decent ceremonies of the church of England, and when many a bold heart trembled at the sight of a surplice.

Influenced by these reasonings, however justifiable the commons might think their parsimony, it appeared in a very different light to Charles. He at first considered it as the offspring of spleen against Buckingham, and, as such, ungenerous and cruel; but when he perceived that it proceeded from a purpose of abridging his prerogative, which he thought already too limited, he regarded that purpose as highly criminal. As he cherished very lofty ideas of monarchical power, an attempt to circumscribe his authority seemed to him little less than a conspiracy against the throne. As the plague at that time raged in London, he re-assembled the parliament at Oxford; and laying aside that delicacy which he had hitherto observed, he endeavoured to draw from the commons a more liberal

2 A chapel at Somerset-house had been built for the queen and her family, with conveniences adjoining for Capuchin friars, who had permission to walk abroad in their religious habits. Rushworth, vol. i.

supply, by making them fully acquainted with the state of his affairs, with the debts of the crown, the expenses of the war, the steps he had taken, and the engagements into which he had entered for conducting it. But all his arguments and entreaties were fruitless; the commons remained inexorable. They obstinately refused any farther assistance; though it was known that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in want of pay and provisions, and that Buckingham and the treasurer of the navy had advanced, on their own credit, near a hundred thousand pounds for the sea service[3]. They answered him only by vexatious petitions and complaints of grievances.

Aug. 12. Enraged at such obstinacy, Charles dissolved the parliament, and attempted to raise money by other means. He had recourse to the old expedient of forcing a loan from the subject. For this purpose privy seals were issued; and, by sums so raised, he was enabled, though with difficulty, to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty sail, including transports and some Dutch ships, and carried an army of ten thousand men. The chief command was entrusted to the viscount Wimbledon, lately sir Edward Cecil, one of Buckingham's creatures. He sailed directly for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value; yet these, through misconduct, were suffered to escape. The troops were landed, and a fort was taken. But that being found of small consequence, and an epidemical disease having broken out among the soldiers and sailors, occasioned by the immoderate use of new wine, Wimbledon re-embarked his forces; and after cruising off Cape St. Vincent, but without success, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish plate-fleet, he returned to England with his sickly crew, to the great dissatisfaction of the nation[4].

The failure of an enterprise from which he expected so

3 *Parliamentary Hist.* vol. vi. p. 390.

4 Rushworth, vol. i.—Franklin, p. 113.

much treasure obliged Charles again to call a parliament, and lay his necessities before the commons. They immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterward added one subsidy; yet the sum was still very inadequate to the exigencies of the state, and little fitted to promote the ambitious views of the young king. But the scantiness of this supply was not the most mortifying circumstance attending it. The commons, in the first instance, only voted it; and reserved, to the end of the session, the power of giving that vote the sanction of a law. In the mean time, under colour of redressing grievances, they proceeded in regulating and controlling every part of government; and it required no deep penetration to perceive, that, if the king obstructed their measures, or refused compliance with their demands, he must expect no aid from parliament. Though Charles expressed great displeasure at this conditional mode of supply, as well as at the political inquiries of the commons, his pressing wants obliged him to submit, and wait with patience the issue of their deliberations[5]. A.D. 1626.

In order to strike at the root of all their grievances, the commons took a step little expected by the king or his minister. They proceeded to impeach the duke of Buckingham, who had long been odious to the nation, and became more so every day by his arrogant behaviour, the uncontrolled ascendency which he maintained over his master, and the pernicious counsels which he was supposed to have dictated. The union of many offices in his person, his acceptance of extensive grants from the crown, and the influence which he had used for procuring many titles of honour for his kindred—the chief articles of accusation exhibited against him—might perhaps be considered as grievances, and might justly inspire with resentment such as thought they had a right to share in the honours and employments of the state, but could not,

5 *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi.

in the eye of the law, be considered as sufficient grounds for an impeachment. Charles, therefore, thinking the duke's whole guilt consisted in being his friend and favourite, rashly resolved to support him at all hazards, regardless of the fate of the conditional supply, or the clamours of the public[6].

The lord-keeper, in the king's name, desired the commons not to meddle with his minister and servant; and a message was also sent to them, that, if they did not speedily furnish his majesty with supplies, he would be obliged to try NEW COUNSELS. They went on, however, with their impeachment of the duke; though sir John Elliot and sir Dudley Digges, two of the members who had been employed to conduct it, were sent to the Tower. And the majority of the house, after this insult, declared they would proceed no further upon business until they were righted in their privileges; and Charles, ever ready to adopt violent counsels, but wanting firmness to persevere in them, finding he had acted with too much precipitancy, ordered the members to be set at liberty[7]. Thus irritated but not intimidated, by a prince who had discovered his weakness and imprudence, the commons, regardless of the public necessities, continued their inquiries into the conduct of Buckingham; but not being able to fix any crime upon him, that could be legally brought under the denominatic of high treason, they drew up a petition for removing im from his majesty's person and councils, as an unwise nd dangerous minister[8].

From the affectionat: and respectful style of that petition we may almost presume, that, if Charles had complied with the request of the commons, by renouncing all future connexion with the duke, a good understanding might yet have been established between the king and par-

6 Franklin, p. 198.—Rushworth, vol. i. 7 Rushworth, vol. i.
8 *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

liament, and all the horrors of civil war prevented; for, if the pretensions of the commons afterwards exceeded the line of the constitution, these extravagant pretensions were roused by the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, which excited a hatred to royal authority, and a desire of recrimination, which at last proved fatal to the monarchy. It may indeed be urged, on the other side, that the arbitrary proceedings of the crown were occasioned by the obstinacy of the parliament; that Charles had no desire of oppressing his subjects, how high soever his ideas of prerogative might be; and would never have attempted any unconstitutional measure, if the commons had furnished him with the necessary and reasonable supplies. Both parties were therefore to blame, and perhaps equally; yet I am inclined to believe that the commons were sincere, when they made this solemn declaration to the king, at the close of a remonstrance that followed their petition:

"We profess in the presence of Almighty God, the "searcher of all hearts, that you are as highly esteemed "and beloved as ever any of your predecessors were!" And, after entreating him to dismiss Buckingham from his presence, they thus apologise for their parsimony:—"We "protest to your majesty and to the whole world, that, "until this great person be removed from intermeddling "with the great affairs of state, we are out of hope of any "good success; and do fear that any money we shall or "can give, will, through his misemployment, be turned "rather to the prejudice of this your kingdom than other-"wise, as, by lamentable experience, we have found in "those large supplies formerly and lately given. But no "sooner shall we receive redress and relief in *this*, which "of all others is our most insupportable grievance, but "we shall forthwith proceed to accomplish your majesty's "own desire for supply; and likewise, with all cheerful-"ness, apply ourselves to the perfecting of divers other "great things, such as we think no one parliament in one age

"can parallel, tending to the stability, wealth, strength, "and honour of this your kingdom, and the support of "your friends and allies abroad[9]."

Enraged at this second attempt to deprive him of his minister and favourite, Charles paid no regard to the prayer of the commons, or to his loss of supply, the necessary consequence of denying it, but immediately prepared to dissolve the parliament, in order to avoid any farther importunity on a subject so ungrateful to his ear. "What "idea," said he, "must all mankind entertain of my ho-"nour, should I sacrifice my innocent friend to pecuniary "considerations?"—But, even if this friend and servant had been more innocent, and more able, than we find him to have been, it was the king's duty, as well as his interest, to dismiss his minister from all public employments, at the request of the representative body of his subjects. For, as the commons very justly observed in their remonstrance, "the relations between a sovereign and his peo-"ple do far transcend, and are more prevalent and bind-"ing than any relation of a master towards his servant; "and consequently to hear and satisfy the just and neces-"sary desires of his people is more honourable to a prince "than any expressions of grace to a servant[10]."

Instead of listening to such respectful arguments, Charles, by persevering in his support of Buckingham, involved himself, in the opinion of the nation, in all his favourite's crimes, whether real or imputed. Among these was a charge of having applied to the late king's side, without the knowledge of his physicians, a plaister which was supposed to have been the cause of his death; an accusation which, if Charles had believed it to be just, would have loosened all the ties of affection to Buckingham, and which he would have prosecuted to the utmost. Yet were there people wicked enough to suppose, from the king's blind attachment to the duke, that he had been

9 *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. 10 *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

privy to such an atrocious crime. His adherence to this worthless man was indeed so strong as to exceed all belief. When the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour surely entitled them to some influence with him, requested that he would let the parliament sit a little longer, he hastily replied, "Not a moment longer[11]!" and instantly closed the session by a dissolution. June 15.

In this alarming crisis of his affairs, as he did not choose to resign his minister, the only rational counsel which Charles could pursue was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain; and, by that prudent measure, to render himself as independent as possible of the parliament, which seemed determined to take advantage of his necessities, in order to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy, more consistent with national interest, or more agreeable to his own wish; but the violent and impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries which he himself had committed, and animated with a love of glory, which he wanted talents to acquire, persuaded his too facile master to continue the war, though he had not been able to procure him the constitutional means of supporting it. Those *new counsels*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were therefore now to be tried, in order to supply his exigencies: and so high an idea had he conceived of kingly power, and so contemptible an opinion of the rights of national assemblies, that, if he had possessed a military force on which he could have depended, there is reason to believe he would at once have laid aside all reserve, and attempted to govern without any regard to parliamentary privileges[12]. But, being destitute of such a force, he was obliged to cover his violences under the sanction of ancient

11 Sanderson's *Life of Charles I.*

12 This is the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be suspected of traducing the character of Charles.

precedents, collected from all the tyrannical reigns since the Norman conquest.

The people, however, were too keen-sighted not to perceive that examples can never alter the nature of injustice. They therefore complained loudly of the benevolences and loans which were extorted from them under various forms; and these complaints were increased by a commission, which was openly issued, for compounding with popish recusants, and dispensing, for a sum of money, with the penal laws enacted against them[13]. While the nation was in this dissatisfied humour, intelligence arrived of the defeat of the Protestants in Germany, in whose army were about 5000 English, by the imperial forces. A general loan from the subject was now exacted, equal to the four subsidies and three fifteenths voted by the last parliament; and many respectable persons were thrown into prison for refusing to pay their assessments. Most of them patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who generally released them. Five gentlemen alone, namely, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edward Hampden, had resolution enough to demand their release, not as a favour from the prince, but as their right by the laws of their country[14].

On examination, it was found that these gentlemen had been arbitrarily committed by the king and council, without the allegation of any cause for such commitment. The question was brought to a solemn trial in the court of King's Bench; and in the course of the debates it appeared incontestably to the nation that our ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty as to secure it against absolute power in the prince, not only by an article in the GREAT CHARTER itself, the sacred basis of the laws and constitution, but by six statutes besides[15]. As there were many

13 Rushworth, vol. i. 14 Rushworth, vol. i.

15 25 Edw. III. cap. iv. 28 Edw. III. cap. iii. 37 Edw. III. cap. xviii. 38 Edw. III. cap. ix. 42 Edw. III. cap. iii. 1 Rich. II. cap. xii.

precedents, however, of the violation of those statutes, the judges, obsequious to the court, refused to release the prisoners, or to admit them to bail[16]. A. D. 1627.

The cry was now loud that the nation was reduced to slavery. The liberty of the subject was violated for refusing to submit to an illegal imposition! Nor was this the only arbitrary measure of which the people had reason to complain. The troops that had returned from the fruitless expedition against Cadiz were dispersed over the kingdom, and billeted upon private families, contrary to established custom, which required that they should be quartered at inns and public houses. And all persons of substance, who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a disproportionate number of these disorderly guests; while people of inferior condition, who had manifested an incompliant spirit, were pressed into the sea or land service[17]. Every one, in a word, seemed to feel the public grievances, and to execrate the oppressive spirit of administration, though passive obedience was strongly recommended from the pulpit; and the crimes and outrages, committed by the soldiers, contributed to increase the general discontent.

In the midst of these alarming dissatisfactions and increasing difficulties, when baffled in every attempt against the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria, and embroiled with his own subjects, what was the surprise of mankind to see Charles, as if he had not yet a sufficient number of enemies, engage in a war against France! Unable to account for so extraordinary a measure, historians have generally ascribed it to an amorous quarrel between cardinal Richelieu and the duke of Buckingham, on account of a rival passion for the queen of France, and the encouragement which the duke had received, when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, which induced him to project a new embassy to that court, as I

16 Rushworth

17 Rushworth, vol. i.

have formerly had occasion to relate[18]. But, however that might be, Buckingham had other reasons for involving his master in a war with France.

One of the articles of impeachment against the duke, and that which had excited the greatest odium, was the sending of some English ships to assist the French king in subduing his Protestant subjects. To this impolitic and inhuman measure Buckingham had been seduced by a promise, that as soon as the Huguenots were reduced, Louis would take an active part in the war against the house of Austria. But afterward, finding himself deceived by Richelieu, who had nothing in view but the aggrandisement of the French monarchy, he procured a peace for the Huguenots, and became a security to them for its performance. That peace, however, was not observed, as Richelieu was intent on the ruin of the Protestant party in France. Such an event, it was readily foreseen, would render France more formidable to England than the whole house of Austria. Besides, if Charles and Buckingham should supinely behold the ruin of the Huguenots accomplished, such conduct would increase the popular discontents, and render the breach between the king and parliament irreparable. It was therefore resolved, as the only means of recovering any degree of credit with the people, and of curbing at the same time the power of an ambitious rival, to undertake the defence of the French Protestants.

A negotiation was accordingly adjusted with Soubise, who was at that time in London; and an armament was fitted out under the command of the duke of Buckingham, the most unpopular man in the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with naval or military service. The fate of the expedition was such as might have been expected from *his* management: but, as I before stated the chief particulars[19], I shall not trouble you with a repetition.

The public grievances were now so great, that an in-

18 Part I. Let. LXXVI.

19 See the Letter last referred to.

surrection was to be apprehended. The people were not only loaded with illegal taxes, but their commerce, which had been injured by the Spanish, was nearly ruined by the French war; while the glory of the nation was tarnished by unsuccessful enterprises, and its safety threatened by the forces of two powerful monarchies. At such a season, Charles and Buckingham must have dreaded, above all things, the calling of a parliament; yet the improvidence of the ministry, the necessity of supply, and the danger of forcing another loan, obliged them to have recourse to that expedient. In order to wipe off, if possible, the popular odium from the duke, it was represented as his motion; and still farther to dispose the commons to co-operate with the minister, warrants were sent to all parts of the kingdom, for the relief of those gentlemen who had been confined on account of refusing to contribute toward the late loan. Their number amounted to seventy-eight, and many of them were elected members of the new parliament[20]. A. D. 1628.

When the commons assembled, the court perceived that they were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and so opulent, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers[21]. But although enraged at the violations of public liberty, at personal injuries, and at the extreme folly with which public measures were conducted, to the disgrace, and even danger of the nation, they entered upon business with no less temper and decorum than vigour and ability. From a knowledge of the king's political opinions, as well as from his speech at their meeting, in which he told them, "that if they did not do their "duty, in contributing to the relief of the public neces-"sities, he must use those *other means*, which God had "put into his hands," they foresaw, that, if any pretence should be afforded, he would immediately dissolve the par- March 17.

20 Rushworth, vol. i.

21 Rushworth, vol. i.—*Parl. Hist.*

liament, and think himself thenceforth justified in violating, in a manner still more open, all the ancient forms of the constitution. But the decency which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, in order to avoid the calamities of civil war, which must have been the immediate consequence of a new breach between the king and parliament, did not prevent them from taking into consideration the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured—the billeting of soldiers, the imposing of arbitrary taxes, the imprisoning of those who refused to comply, and the refusal of bail on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Nor did they fail to express themselves with a proper degree of indignation on these subjects.

"This is the great council of the kingdom," said sir Francis Seymour, who opened the debate; "and here, if "not here alone, his majesty may see, as in a true glass, "the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his "majesty's writs, in order to give him faithful counsel; "such as may stand with his honour; and this we must "do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the "people, in order to deliver their just grievances; and "this we must do without fear. Let us not act like Cambyses' judges, who, when questioned by their prince "concerning some illegal measures, replied, *though there* "*is a written law, the Persian kings may do what they* "*list!* This was a base flattery, fitter for our own reproof than imitation; and as fear, so flattery taketh away "the judgement. For my part, I shall shun both; and "speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his "majesty, without neglecting the public. But how can "we express affection, while we retain our fears; or speak "of giving, till we know whether we have any thing left "to give? For if his majesty may be persuaded to take "what he will, what occasion have we to give? That this "hath been done, appears by the billeting of soldiers, a "thing nowise advantageous to the king's service, and "a burthen to the commonwealth; by the imprisonment

"of gentlemen for refusing the loan, yet who, if they had "done the contrary from fear, had been as blameable as "the projectors of that oppressive measure. And to "countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preach-"ed, or rather prated, in the pulpit, that all we have is "the king's by divine right?"

"I have read," said sir Robert Philips, "of a custom "among the old Romans, that once every year they held "a solemn festival, during which their slaves had liberty, "without exception, to speak what they would, in order "to ease their afflicted minds; and that, on the conclu-"sion of the festival, they returned to their former abject "condition. This may, with some resemblance and dis-"tinction, well set forth our present state. After the "revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferings of "many violent oppressions, we have now, as those slaves "had, a day of liberty of speech: but we shall not, I "trust, be hereafter slaves; for we are BORN FREE! Yet "what illegal burthens our estates and persons have "groaned under, my heart yearns to think, my tongue "falters to utter.

"The grievances by which we are oppressed," continued he, "I draw under two heads; acts of power against "law, and the judgements of lawyers against our liberty." He then mentioned three illegal judgements passed within his memory; that by which the Scots born after the accession of James I. were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects[22]; that by which the new impositions had been warranted; and that by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorised. After this enumeration, he thus proceeded:

"I can live, although another, who has no right, be put "to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burthen-

21 He pays the Scots a handsome compliment, at the same time that he blames the act:—"a nation," says he, "which I heartily love for their singular *good zeal* "in our religion, and their *free spirit* to preserve liberty far beyond any of us." *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR...

"ed with impositions beyond what at present I bear; but "to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken "from me by power; to have my person pent up in a "gaol, without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged— "O improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be "so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our "lands, and the liberties of parliament, and at the same "time so negligent of our personal liberty; to let us lie "in prison, and that during pleasure, without remedy or "redress! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why "trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, "franchises, property in goods, and the like? What may "any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?

"I am weary," added he, "of treading these ways, and "therefore conclude to select a committee, in order to "frame a petition to his majesty for redress of our griev-"ances."—The same subject was pursued by sir Thomas Wentworth, who exclaimed, "We must vindicate!— "What? New things?—No: our ancient legal and vital "liberties, by reinforcing the laws enacted by our an-"cestors; by setting such a stamp upon them, that no "licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them[23]."

The commons accordingly proceeded to frame a PETITION OF RIGHT, as they chose to call it; indicating by this name, that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. And Charles, finding that his threats had neither awed them into submission, nor provoked them to indecent freedom of speech, thought fit to send a conciliatory message, intimating that he esteemed the grievances of the house his own, and stood not on precedence in point of honour. He therefore desired, that the same committee which was appointed for the redress of grievances might also undertake the business of supply. Pleased with this concession, the

23 Rushworth, vol. i.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

commons voted him five subsidies; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he seemed to be satisfied; and declared, with tears of affection in his eyes, "that "he liked parliaments at first; though lately, he "knew not how, he had gotten a distaste of them, but "was now where he was before: he loved them, and "should rejoice to meet his people again[24]."

When Charles made this declaration, he was not fully acquainted with the extent of the Petition of Right, and therefore afterwards attempted to qualify or evade it; but, as it was intimately connected with the vote of supply, which was altogether conditional, he was at last constrained to give his solemn sanction to the bill. This reluctance to a ratification of the rights of the people deprived his assent of all claim to merit in the eyes of the commons. They justly considered it as the effect of necessity, not complaisance, and became even more suspicious of the king's designs against the constitution. They therefore proceeded to require the redress of many inferior grievances not mentioned in their petition, which provided only against forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, the billeting of soldiers, and martial law: and they took into consideration the duties of tonnage and poundage, which had not yet been granted by parliament. To levy these duties without their consent, they affirmed, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, in which those liberties were so lately confirmed[25]. Alarmed at such an unexpected attack upon his prerogative, Charles prorogued the parliament, to prevent the presentation of a remonstrance which the house had prepared on the subject[26].

June 7.

24 *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. 25 Rushworth, vol. i.

26 *Journ.* 26 June, 1628.—Nothing tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the commons against Charles, than his open encouragement of such principles as are altogether incompatible with a limited go-

In the hope of conciliating the affections of the public, by making a popular use of the supply which had been granted to him, as well as recovering the reputation of his arms, Charles turned his eyes, during the recess of parliament, toward the distressed Protestants in France. Rochelle was now closely besieged by land; and the royalists were preparing, by a mole, to cut off all communication with it by sea. To the relief of that place the earl of Denbigh was dispatched, with ten ships of the line, and fifty transports and victuallers; but by an unaccountable complication of cowardice and incapacity, if not treachery, he returned without even affording the besieged a supply of provisions. To wipe off this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham, whom we have already seen make so despicable a figure as a commander, repaired to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, in the hope of again displaying his prowess on the coast of

vernment. Dr. Mainwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found, upon inquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and this sermon, when examined, was observed to contain doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that, although property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet all property was transferred to the sovereign whenever any exigency required supply; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his people, (Rushworth, vol. i.—*Parl. Hist.* viii.). For these doctrines the commons impeached Mainwaring; and the sentence pronounced against him by the peers imported, that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined in the sum of one thousand pounds, make submission and acknowledgement for his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book should be called in, and burned. But no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly obnoxious to both houses of parliament and to the whole nation, received a pardon, was promoted to a living of considerable value, and raised, some years after, to the see of St. Asaph.—Charles's arbitrary principles were not, like those of his father, merely speculative. Among other grievances, which seemed to require redress, the commons applied for canceling a commission granted to the principal officers of the crown, by which they were empowered to meet, and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions or otherwise; "where *form* and *circumstance*," as expressed in the commission, "must be dispensed with rather "than the *substance* be lost or hazarded." This, in a word, was a scheme for finding expedients which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render the parliament wholly unnecessary.

France, and defeating the ambitious designs of Richelieu, his competitor in love, in politics, and even in war.

But this enterprise was obstructed, and the relief of Rochelle prevented, by one stroke of a desperate enthusiast, named Felton, who had served under Buckingham as a lieutenant in his former expedition. Disgusted at the refusal of a company, on the death of his captain, who was killed in the retreat from the Isle of Rhé, Felton had retired from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his breast, he met with a recent remonstrance of the commons, in which the man whom he hated was represented as the cause of all the grievances under which the nation groaned, more especially of those relating to religion. Naturally vindictive, gloomy, and enthusiastical, he was led to suppose, that he should do an acceptable service to Heaven, at the same time that he gratified the impulse of his own envenomed heart, if he should dispatch this enemy of God and his country. Full of his purpose, he hastened to Portsmouth at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of perpetrating the bloody deed.

Such an occasion soon offered. While Buckingham was engaged in conversation with Soubise and other French gentlemen relative to the state of Rochelle, a difference of sentiment arose, which produced from the foreigners some violent gesticulations, and vehement exertions of voice, but nothing that could be seriously considered as an insult. Scarcely was this conversation ended, when the duke, turning round to speak to sir Thomas Fryar, was stabbed in the breast with a knife. "The villain has killed me!"—cried he, and, pulling out the knife, expired without uttering another word. Nobody had seen the stab given; but every one concluded that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, the violence of whose voices and gestures had been remarked, while their words were not un-

August 23.

derstood by the by-standers; and, in the first transports of revengeful rage, they would instantly have been put to death by the duke's attendants, if some men of temper and judgement had not interposed, though by no means convinced of their innocence.

A hat was soon found among the crowd, in the inside of which was sewed a paper containing part of the late violent remonstrance of the commons, with a short prayer or ejaculation. It was immediately concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin, but who he might be no one could conjecture, as the writing did not discover his name, and it was supposed that he had fled far enough not to be found without a hat, the only circumstance that could lead to a discovery. In the midst of this anxious desire of finding the murderer, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly by the door near which the sanguinary deed had been perpetrated. "Here," exclaimed one of the company, "is the fellow who killed the duke!" and on hearing a general cry, "Where is he? where is "he?" Felton firmly answered, "Here I am!"—He cheerfully exposed his breast to the drawn swords of the duke's officers, being desirous of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in order to avoid a public execution; and he persisted in denying that he had any accomplice [27].

The king received the news of the duke's fate with so little emotion, that his courtiers concluded he was secretly not displeased at the death of a minister so generally odious to the nation. But this seeming indifference proceeded only from the gravity and composure of Charles's mind; he being attached as much as ever to that worthless favourite, for whose friends, during his whole life, he retained an affection, and a prejudice against his enemies. He even urged that Felton should be put to the torture in order to obtain a confession of his supposed accomplices; and was much chagrined when the judges declared the

27 Clarendon, vol. i.

practice to be unlawful, and opposed on the same ground the gratification of his request, that the criminal's right hand might be cut off before the execution of the sentence of death[28].

Public cares contributed to divert the mind of Charles from private griefs. The projected mole being finished, Rochelle was more closely blockaded; yet the inhabitants, though pressed with the utmost rigours of famine, still refused to submit, in hopes of succour from England. On the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army destined for their relief was given to the earl of Lindsey; who, on his arrival before Rochelle, made attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour. But that stupendous monument of Richelieu's genius was now fortified in such a manner as to render the design impracticable; and the wretched inhabitants, seeing all prospect of assistance cut off, were obliged to surrender in view of the English fleet[29].

28 Rushworth, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 11. 29 Rushworth, vol. i.

LETTER IV.

History of England and Scotland, from the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham to the Execution of the Earl of Strafford, in 1641.

THE failure of the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and the ruin of the Protestant cause in France, the immediate consequence of it, contributed much to increase the discontents of the English nation, and to diminish the authority of the king. On the meeting of parliament, the commons complained of many grievances; and, to obtain a redress of these, they resumed their claim to the right of granting tonnage and poundage. This duty, in more ancient times,

Jan. 20, 1629.

had commonly been a temporary grant of the parliament; but, since the reign of Henry V., it had been conferred n every king during life. Each prince had claimed it from the moment of his accession; and it had been usually voted by the first parliament of each reign. Charles, during the short interval which passed between his accession and first parliament, had followed the example of his predecessors. Nor was any fault found with him for so doing. But the commons, when assembled, instead of granting this duty for the king's life, voted it only for a year[1]; a circumstance which proves beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan of reducing the king to a state of dependence. The peers, who perceived the purpose of the lower house, and saw that the duty of poundage was now more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, rejected the bill. The parliament was soon after dissolved, without any other steps being taken in the business, by either party; and Charles continued to levy the duty, and the people to pay it, in conformity with ancient usage. The subject, however, was so fully agitated by the succeeding parliament, that every one began to question the legality of levying tonnage and poundage without the consent of the representatives of the people. Charles, not yet sufficiently tamed to compliance, boldly asserted his prerogative; and the commons, engaged in procuring redress of more pernicious grievances, had little leisure to attend to the infringement of so disputable a privilege. But no sooner had they obtained the king's assent to the petition of right, which afforded a remedy against the renewal of their most weighty grievances, than they took this matter into serious consideration. The king had obstructed their proceedings, by dissolving the parliament; but being now again assembled, they showed their intention of extorting from the crown very

1 *Journ.* 5 July, 1625.

large concessions, in return for the duty on tonnage and poundage.

Charles, who had foreseen these pretensions, took care very early to inform the parliament, "That he had not "taken the duties of tonnage and poundage as pertaining "to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever had been, "and still was his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his "people; that he pretended not to justify himself for "what he had hitherto levied, by any right which he "assumed, but only by the necessity of the case[2]." This concession, it has been remarked, might have satisfied the commons, had they been influenced by no other motive than that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. But they had higher views; and insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that the king should, for a time, entirely desist from levying the duties in question, after which they would discuss the propriety of restoring such revenue to the crown.

The proud spirit of Charles could not submit to a rigour that had never been exercised against any of his predecessors. Besides, he was afraid that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reduce him to perpetual dependence. He did not, however, immediately break with them on their delay of granting him the contested duties; but when, instead of listening to his earnest solicitations for supply, they proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the parliament, with a determined resolution never to call another, unless he should see indications of a more compliant disposition in the nation[3]. March 10.

2 Rushworth, vol. i.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. viii.

3 It is not at all surprising, that Charles should be enraged at this attempt of the commons to encroach on his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or that they should be desi-

The commons, on this occasion, behaved with great boldness. On the first intimation of the king's design from the speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it; and two members held him there, until a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In that remonstrance all who should seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism (lately imported from Holland[4]) were declared enemies to the commonwealth. All who should advise

rous of abridging it, as it was almost the only dangerous prerogative of the crown against which the petition of right had not planted a barrier. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over England was wrested from the see of Rome, the people had readily submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince. Thus the king obtained a large addition of prerogative, being invested with the most absolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the church and the conscience of the subject.

The high-commission court, or supreme ecclesiastical tribunal, was immediately under the direction of the crown. A conformity of religion was demanded over the whole kingdom; and every refusal of the established ceremonies was liable to be punished by this court with deprivation, fines, confiscation, and imprisonment. Nor were the judges of the high-commission court obliged to proceed by legal information: rumour and suspicion were deemed sufficient grounds. They were invested with inquisitorial powers, which were often exercised with unfeeling rigour, even during the reign of Elizabeth. Greater liberty, in ecclesiastical affairs, was both demanded and allowed during the reign of James; but Charles, whose religion had a strong tincture of superstition, required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies. Hence originated the struggle which the commons had hitherto maintained against the ecclesiastical authority of Charles, and the effort they made this session, to show, that it must be subordinate to the power that created it, and the abuse of it liable to be corrected and farther limited by the resolutions of parliament. Sanderson's *Life of Charles I.*—Heylin's *Life of Laud.*

4 See part I. Lett. LXXVI.—The difference between the Arminian doctrines and those of the established religion related chiefly to the tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, which had been embraced by the first reformers, and were still maintained in all their rigour by the puritans. The Arminians, by asserting the freedom of the human will, and diffusing other rational opinions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to those violent enthusiasts. Their number in England was yet small; but, by the indulgence of James and Charles, some of that sect had obtained the highest preferments in the church. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, the chief supporters of episcopal government, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples, in return for the favour shown to them by the court, were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and an unconditional submission to princes. Hence arose the animosity of the commons against a sect whose theological tenets contain nothing inimical to civil liberty.

the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, were brought under the same description; and every merchant who should voluntarily pay these duties, not being granted by parliament, was to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to his country[5].

The discontents of the nation now rose higher than ever, on account of this violent breach between the king and parliament: and Charles's subsequent proceedings were ill-calculated to appease them. He ordered those popular leaders, who had been most active in the late tumult in the house of commons, to be taken into custody. Some of them were fined, and condemned to find sureties for their good behaviour. But these severities served only to show more conspicuously the king's disregard of the privileges of parliament, and to procure a great stock of popularity for the sufferers, who unanimously refused to find the sureties demanded, or even to express their sorrow for having offended their sovereign[6]; so desirous were they of prolonging their meritorious distress!

In the midst of these difficulties, it was impossible for any prince to conduct with vigour the operations of war. Sensible of this, Charles submitted to necessity, and concluded a peace with France and Spain. The situation of his affairs did not entitle him to demand, from Louis, any conditions for the Huguenots, or, from Philip, any stipulation in favour of the elector Palatine; yet he obtained from the latter a promise of his good offices toward the restoration of that unfortunate prince[7]. Thus was lost, through her internal dissensions, the happiest opportunity that England ever enjoyed of

A. D. 1630.

5 *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii.

6 Whitelocke, p. 13.—Rushworth, vol. i.—Kennet, vol. iii.

7 Rushworth, vol. ii.

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humbling the house of Bourbon by means of its Protestant subjects, or of dismembering the Spanish monarchy by the assistance of France, and acquiring a permanent superiority over both.

A cautious neutrality was henceforth the study of Charles, who had neither leisure nor inclination to interest himself farther in foreign affairs; happy in relinquishing every ambitious project, had he been able to recover the affections of his people and the confidence of his parliament! But unfortunately, though possessed of many amiable and respectable qualities, both as a king and as a man[8], and though he now adopted more moderate counsels than during the administration of Buckingham, he was never able to attain those desirable ends: a great degree of jealous distrust remained. The causes and the consequences of this want of confidence it must now be our business to trace.

The high idea that Charles entertained of his own authority not only made him incapable of yielding to that bold spirit of liberty which had diffused itself amongst his subjects, but induced him to continue an invasion of their constitutional rights, whilst he thought himself only engaged in the defence of his own. He considered every petition of the commons as an attempt to encroach on his prerogative; and, even when he granted their requests, he disgusted them by his ungracious reluctance: he complied without obliging. His concessions were not received as marks of royal kindness, as indications of justice or generosity, but as so many sacrifices to necessity. The representatives of the people saw themselves, when as-

8 He was an affectionate husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, and a firm friend. His manner and address, though perhaps rather too stately, corresponded well with his natural gravity and reserve. He was not deficient in political knowledge; he possessed great moderation of temper; his taste in all the fine arts was excellent; and his learning and literary talents were much beyond what are common to princes.—Clarendon.—Sanderson.

sembled, regarded merely in the light of imposers of taxes; and therefore resolved to make use of the power of withholding supplies, in order to convince the king of their political consequence, as well as to obtain a ratification of their ancient rights. The royal authority was likewise too high, in ecclesiastical matters, for a limited government, being altogether absolute: the parliament had discovered an inclination to restrain it; the king had resented the affront by a dissolution; and thus was produced an incurable jealousy between the parties.

Other causes conspired to increase the jealousy of the nation in regard to religion. Charles, ever strongly attached to his queen, had favoured her with his whole friendship and confidence after the death of Buckingham. Her sense and spirit entitled her to share his counsels, while her beauty justified his excessive fondness; but, as her disposition was warm and violent, she sometimes precipitated him into rash measures; and her religion, to which she was much devoted, induced her to procure for the Catholics such indulgences as gave general dissatisfaction, and increased the odium against the court. Nor was this all. Laud, bishop of London, had acquired great influence over the king, and directed him in all ecclesiastical, and even in many civil affairs. Though a man of learning and virtue, he was a superstitious bigot, eagerly desirous of exalting the priesthood, and of imposing on the obstinate puritans, by the most rigorous measures, new ceremonies and observances, unknown to the church of England; and that too at a time when the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, and which had been hallowed by the practice of the reformers, could with difficulty be retained in divine service. Yet this man, who, in the prosecution of his holy enterprise, overlooked all human considerations, and the heat and indiscretion of whose temper made him neglect the plainest dictates of prudence, was

raised by Charles to the see of Canterbury, and invested with uncontrolled authority over the consciences of the people.

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every superstitious ceremony enjoined by Laud and his brethren were suspended, and deprived of their benefices by the high-commission court; oaths were even imposed on churchwardens, binding them to inform against any one who acted in repugnance to the ecclesiastical canons; and all who did not conform to the new mode of worship were treated with the utmost rigour. The religion which the archbishop endeavoured to establish differed very little from that of the church of Rome. The puritans therefore regarded him as the forerunner of Antichrist[9].

Nor were the puritans singular in this opinion. The daughter of the earl of Devonshire, having embraced the Catholic faith, was asked by Laud her reason for changing her religion: "It is chiefly," answered she, "because I "hate to *travel* in a *crowd*." The meaning of these words being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace "and many others are making haste to Rome; and "therefore, to prevent my being jostled, I have gone be-"fore you." In a word, Laud's chief objection to popery seems to have been the supremacy of the holy see, to which he did not wish to subject his metropolitan power. For, although he himself tells us, "that, when a cardinal's "hat was offered to him by the pope, something dwelt "within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till "Rome should be other than it is," the genius of his religion appears to have been the same with the Romish. The same profound respect was exacted by him to the sacerdotal character; the same submission was required to the creeds and decrees of councils; the same pomp and ceremony were affected in worship; and the same

9 Rushworth, vol. ii.

superstitious respect to days, postures, meats, and vestments[10].

As a specimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud sacrificed the peace of the kingdom, it will be sufficient to relate those which he employed in the consecration of St. Catharine's church. The church had been rebuilt by the parishioners, and profanely used for some time without the ceremony of a new consecration—a circumstance which, coming to the ear of Laud, while he was bishop of London, filled him with horror, and induced him to suspend it from all divine service, until he had performed that holy office. On his approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried out, "Open, open, ye ever-"lasting doors! that the King of Glory may come in." The doors of the church instantly flew open; the bishop entered; and falling on his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms expanded, he exclaimed in a solemn tone, "This place is holy! the ground is holy! in the name of "the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy!" Then going to the chancel, he several times took up some dust from the floor, and threw it in the air. When he approached the communion-table, he bowed frequently toward it. On returning, he and his attendants went round the church, in a kind of procession, repeating the hundredth psalm; and then said a form of prayer, concluding with these words: "We consecrate this church, and se-"parate it unto THEE, as holy ground, not to be pro-"faned to common uses." Standing near the communion-table, he now denounced imprecations on all who should pollute that holy place, by musters of soldiers, keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burthens through it. At the conclusion of every curse, he bowed toward the east, and cried, "Let all the people say "Amen!" When the imprecations were ended, he poured out blessings on all who had contributed to the erection

10 Rushworth, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vi.

of that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At the close of every benediction, he bowed toward the east, and cried, "Let all the people "say Amen!"

These ceremonies were followed by a sermon; after which the bishop thus administered the sacrament. As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences, and coming up to that side of the table where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed seven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, fell back a step or two, and bowed three times toward the bread; then drew near again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. He next took hold of the cup, which was filled with wine; then let it go, fell back, and bowed thrice toward it. He again approached, and, lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup; but, on seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, and bowed as before. He then received the sacrament, and administered it to others; and the fabric being now supposed sufficiently holy, the solemnity of the consecration was concluded with many formal prayers[11]. The same pious farce was repeated at the consecration of the church of St. Giles in the Fields, and on other occasions of a like nature, notwithstanding the scandal occasioned by the first exhibition[12]. Opposition and general odium served only to increase the bishop's zeal for such superstitious mummeries, which were openly countenanced by the court.

In return for the king's indulgence to the church, Laud and his followers took care, on every occasion, to magnify the royal authority, and made no scruple to treat with con-

11 Rushworth, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vi.

12 Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 212 et seq.

tempt all pretensions to a free or limited government. By these flatteries, and his original prepossessions, Charles was led to consider himself as the supreme magistrate to whom Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed the care of his people; whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, both spiritual and temporal, and who was invested with ample discretionary powers for that purpose. When the observance of an ancient law or custom was consistent with the present convenience of government, he judged it prudent to follow that rule, as the easiest, safest, and what would procure the most prompt and willing obedience; but when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinacy of the people, seemed to require a new plan of administration, it was his opinion that national privileges ought to yield to supreme power, and that no order of men in the state could be warranted in opposing the will of the sovereign, when directed to the public good.

Charles, however, did not rest the support of that absolute dominion, which he thought he had a right to establish over the souls and bodies of his subjects, merely on the declamations of churchmen, or the intrigues of courtiers. He had recourse to that policy, which has often been so successfully pursued in later times, of employing the honours and offices of the crown, to draw off the parliamentary leaders from opposition, and to engage them in the defence of that authority, which they shared, by becoming members of administration. The king was not wholly disappointed in this first attempt to divide the force of the country party. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a popular member of great abilities, whom he created earl of Strafford, became a firm pillar to the throne. Other parliamentary leaders were also drawn over to the court. Sir Dudley Digges was created master of the rolls; Mr. Noy, attorney-general; and Mr. Littleton, solicitor-general[13].

But the effect of this new political manœuvre was by no

13 Whitelocke, p. 13.

means such as might have been expected from it, or what sometimes attended similar measures in subsequent days —a temporary reconciliation between the parties. The views of the king and parliament were so repugnant to each other, that the leaders whom he had gained, though men of eminent talents and irreproachable character, lost all credit with their party from the moment of their defection. They were even pursued as traitors, with implacable hatred and resentment; and the king was so far from acquiring popularity by employing them, that he lost still farther, by that expedient, the confidence of the nation. It was considered as an insidious attempt to turn the emoluments of the state against itself, and the honours of the crown against the constitution; to unnerve, by corruption, the arm of liberty; and by means of apostate patriots, the most terrible instruments of tyranny, to complete the despotism of the prince and the slavery of the people.

These apprehensions were not altogether without foundation. As Charles had formed a resolution no more to assemble the commons, and even published a proclamation to that purpose, he was obliged to raise money for the support of government, either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations of the rights of the subject. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, according to the former arbitrary impositions; new imposts were even laid on several kinds of merchandise; and the officers of the customs received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, and break any bulk whatever, in default of payment of such duties [14]. The oppressive method of raising money by monopolies was revived; the odious expedient of compounding with popish recusants became a regular part of the revenue; several arbitrary taxes were imposed; and, in order to facilitate these exactions, and repress the rising spirit of liberty, many severe sentences were passed in the star-chamber and high-commission courts. Some

14 Rushworth, vol. ii.

persons were fined, others imprisoned; and those who publicly arraigned the measures of the court were condemned to stand in the pillory[15].

For eight years had Charles supported his government by arbitrary impositions, levied by means no less arbitrary, before he met with any vigorous opposition. At length John Hampden, a private gentleman, had the courage to set the crown at defiance, and make a bold stand in defence of the laws and the liberties of his country. A.D. 1637. Among other taxes, that of ship-money had been revived, and levied on the whole kingdom. This tax, intended for the support of the royal navy, and in itself moderate and equitable, was only exceptionable by being imposed without the consent of parliament; and to discourage all opposition on that account, the king had proposed as a question, to the judges, "Whether, in cases "of *necessity*, he might not, for the defence of the king-"dom, impose such a tax; and whether he was not the "*sole judge* of that *necessity?*" The compliant judges answered in the affirmative, and the tax was generally paid. But Hampden, regardless of the opinion of the judges and the example of others, resolved to hazard the issue of a suit, rather than tamely submit to the illegal imposition; and although only rated at twenty shillings, to risque the whole indignation of royalty[16].

This important cause was heard before the twelve judges in the Exchequer-chamber. The pleadings lasted twelve days; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of the trial. The issue might easily have been foreseen from the former opinion of the heads of the law; but it was not, on that account, considered as less momentous, or expected with less impatience.

In most national questions much may be said on both

15 Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. ii.

16 Rushworth, vol. ii.—Whitelocke.

sides: but, on the present occasion, no legal argument of any weight was adduced by the crown-lawyers, though men of profound abilities; a strong presumption that none such existed. They only pleaded *precedent* and *necessity*. The precedents, when examined, were found to be by no means applicable to the case, and the necessity was denied. "England," said Hampden's counsel, "enjoys a "profound peace with all her neighbours; and, what farther secures her tranquillity, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves. "The very writs which are issued for the levying of ship-"money, contradict the idea of necessity: they assert "only that the seas are infested by pirates; a slight and "temporary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal "supply from parliament. And as to the pretension, that "the king is the sole judge of the necessity, what is this, "but to subject all the privileges, and all the property of "the nation, to his arbitrary will and pleasure? For the plea "of *voluntary necessity* will warrant any other taxation as "well as that of ship-money. And if such maxims and "practices prevail, where is national liberty? What au-"thority is left to the Great Charter, that palladium of "the constitution? Or what to the Petition of Right, so "lately enacted by the concurrence of the whole legisla-"ture [17]."

The prejudiced or prostituted judges, notwithstanding these powerful arguments, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Yet Hampden obtained, by this trial, the end which he had proposed to himself. National questions were canvassed in every company; and the people, if not roused to active opposition, were at least awakened to a sense of the danger to which their liberties were exposed. "Slav-"ish principles," it was said, "concurred with illegal "practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usur-"pation; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary

17 *State Trials*, vol. v.

"punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, trans-"mitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, "and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and pa-"triots, now lay prostrate at the foot of the throne. What "though the personal character of the king, amid all his "misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even "praise, he was but one man; and the privileges of the "people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable "to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes [1]."

While the minds of men underwent this fermentation in England, a more dangerous spirit made its appearance in Scotland. We have already had occasion to trace the steps taken by James for introducing episcopacy into that kingdom. The same policy was pursued by his son Charles; who, in 1633, had paid a visit to his native country, and made a violent attempt to get his authority there acknowledged in ecclesiastical matters. He obtained an act of parliament vesting him with such authority; but as that act was known to have been extorted by the influence and importunity of the sovereign, contrary to the sentiments even of those who gave it their suffrage, it served only to inflame the jealousy, and rouse the resentment of the nation [19].

Nor will this opposition excite surprise, if we consider, that the ecclesiastical government, in Scotland, was believed to be totally independent of the civil. Christ, not the king, was regarded as the head of the church; consequently no act of parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself, under the supposed illuminations of its Invisible Superior, could be sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. But, in direct contradiction to these old presbyterian maxims, James had introduced into Scotland the court of high-commission, at a time when its authority was too grievous to be patiently borne in England; and now, by an extorted act of parliament, Charles openly

18 Hume, vol. vi. 19 Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i.

discovered his intention of overturning the national religion, and of enforcing conformity to a new mode of worship, by means of this arbitrary tribunal.

The Scots could easily discover the nature of the religion which the king wished to introduce. The jurisdictions of presbyters, synods, and other democratical courts, were already in a manner abolished; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for two years past. It was evident that Charles, ambitious to complete the work so unwisely begun by his father, was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church of Scotland by the same absolute authority which he enjoyed in England, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. But the ardour of reformation was not yet sufficiently abated, among the Scots, to admit such a change. They were still under the influence of the wildest enthusiasm; and that concurring with certain political considerations, not only obstructed Charles's favourite scheme of uniformity, but eventually ruined his authority in both kingdoms.

This prince, from the natural piety or superstition of his temper, was slavishly attached to churchmen; and, as it is natural for all men to persuade themselves, that their interest coincides with their inclination, he had laid it down as a political canon, that to increase the power and civil influence of the ecclesiastical order was the first duty of his government. He considered the episcopal clergy as the most faithful servants of the crown, and the great promoters of loyalty among the people. In consequence of this idea, some of the Scottish prelates were raised to the highest offices of the state; and an attempt was made to revive the first institution of the College of Justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority, as before the Reformation[20]. These innovations disgusted the high-minded nobility, who fre-

20 Guthrie's *Memoirs*.

quently found themselves insulted by the upstart bishops, while they had the mortification to see themselves inferior in official importance and courtly favour. Selfishness completed that jealousy which ambition had begun. The Scottish nobles perceived that the king was preparing to deprive them (in behalf of the clergy) of those church-lands which they had so largely shared at the Reformation, and therefore took part with the people and the presbyterian preachers, in opposing the plan of episcopacy, and spreading wide the alarm of popery [21].

Meanwhile Charles and his dignified ecclesiastics were zealously employed in framing canons and a liturgy for the use of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons, which were promulgated in 1635, though received by the nation without much clamour or opposition, occasioned much inward apprehension and discontent. They were indeed of a most arbitrary and offensive nature, and highly grievous to a people jealous of their civil and religious liberties. They asserted, that the king's authority was absolute and unlimited; and they ordained, among many other things odious to presbyterian ears, that the clergy should not pray extemporaneously, but by the printed form prescribed in the liturgy; that no one should officiate as schoolmaster without a licence from the bishop of the diocese; nor any person be admitted into holy orders, or allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function, without first subscribing those canons [22].

Even men of moderate principles, who could regard these ordinances with a degree of indifference, were filled with indignation at seeing a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent, either of church or state. They dreaded a like despotism in civil government: yet a seeming submission was paid to the king's authority, until the reading of the liturgy. July 23, It was chiefly copied from that of England, and 1637.

21 Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i.

22 Fuller's *Church Hist.*—Burnet's *Mem. of the House of Hamilton.*

consequently was little exceptionable in itself. But this seemingly favourable circumstance was no recommendation to the Scots, who, proud of the purity of their worship, thought the English church still retained a strong mixture of Romish pollution. They therefore represented the new liturgy as a species of mass, though with less show and embroidery; and when, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, opened the book, and began the service, the meaner part of the audience, but especially the women, raised a dreadful clamour, clapping their hands and exclaiming, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him! "stone him!" And the tumult was so great, that it was found impossible to proceed with the service, until the most turbulent of the rioters were turned out of the church by the civil magistrates. The bishop, who had attempted in vain to appease them, was in danger, on his return from the cathedral, of falling a victim to their fury[23].

Though this tumult appeared to have been conducted only by persons of low condition, the sense of the nation was well known; so that it was not thought advisable to hazard a new insult by a second attempt to read the liturgy. But as the king, contrary to all the maxims of sound policy, and even of common sense, remained inflexible in his purpose of imposing such a mode of worship on his Scottish subjects, new tumults arose; and the people flocked from every part of the kingdom to Edinburgh, to counteract the obnoxious measure. Men of all ranks joined in petitions against the liturgy: the pulpits resounded with vehement declamations against Antichrist; and the populace, who had first opposed the new service, were ingeniously compared by the preachers to Balaam's ass, an animal, stupid in itself, but whose mouth the Lord had opened, to the admiration of the whole world[24]. Fanaticism, in a word, mingling with faction, and private

23 King's *Declaration*.—Rushworth, vol. ii.—Burnet's *Mem.*
24 King's *Declaration*.

interest with the spirit of liberty, produced symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection; yet Charles, as if under the influence of a blind fatality, though fully informed of the disorders in Scotland, obstinately refused to desist from his undertaking, notwithstanding the representations of his ablest ministers, and most faithful servants in that kingdom.

But what renders this obstinacy still more inexcusable, and makes the king's conduct appear altogether inexplicable, is, that while he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of Scotland as the church-lands, from powerful nobles, by no means willing to relinquish them, and was attempting to produce very serious changes in the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of that realm, he raised no forces to carry his violent designs into execution! The Scots saw the weakness of his administration, at the same time that they had reason to complain of its rigour; and, on the appearance of a proclamation, containing a pardon for all past offences, and exhorting them peaceably to submit to the liturgy, they entered into a civil and religious convention, generally known by the name of the COVENANT, which proved an effectual barrier against all regal encroachments.

In this convention were comprehended all orders of men in the state, divided into different tables or classes; one table consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergy, and a fourth of burgesses. In the hands of commissioners, chosen from these four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. The articles of their Covenant consisted, first of a renunciation of popery, signed by the late king in his youth; then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist innovations in religion, and to defend each other against all violence and oppression. And as every thing was pretended to be done by the Covenanters for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the advantage of their country, people of all ranks, without

A. D. 1638.

distinction of age or sex, crowded to subscribe the Covenant. Even the king's ministers and counsellors were seised with the general phrensy[25].

Charles, who now began to apprehend the consequences of such a powerful combination, dispatched the marquis of Hamilton into Scotland, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He offered to suspend the canons and liturgy, until they could be received in a fair and legal way; and so model the court of high-commission, that it should no longer give offence. But he required in return for these concessions a renunciation of the covenant. The chief malcontents, finding themselves seconded by the zeal of the greater part of the nation, replied, "that they would "sooner renounce their baptism than the covenant!" and the ministers invited the commissioner to subscribe it, telling him "with what peace and comfort it had filled "the hearts of all God's people[26]."

Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey to Edinburgh, with new concessions; returned a second time to London; and was soon sent back, with concessions yet more ample. Charles now consented utterly to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the court of high-commission; but he would not agree to abolish episcopacy, which he thought as essential to the very being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. This narrowness of mind, which we must pity rather than condemn, proved the ruin of the negotiation. The king had empowered Hamilton, however, to propose the summoning of the general assembly of the church, and the parliament, by which every grievance might be redressed; an offer which was readily embraced by the covenanters, who were well assured of their superior influence in both.

The first object that engaged the attention of the general assembly, where, besides a vast multitude of the populace,

25 Rushworth, vol. ii.—Burnet's *Mem.*—King's *Declaration.*
26 King's *Declaration.*—Rushworth, vol. ii.

the most considerable of the Scottish nobility and gentry were present, was an act for the utter abolition of episcopacy. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; and the commissioner dissolved it, in his majesty's name, after declaring it illegally constituted. But this measure, though unforeseen, was little regarded: the members continued to sit, and finished their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, were declared null and void, as being procured by the arbitrary influence of the sovereign; and the acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were considered, on the same account, as of no authority[27]. Thus episcopacy, the court of high-commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful. Every thing, in a word, which, during a long course of years, James and Charles had been labouring with such care and policy to rear, was thrown at once to the ground; and the covenant, so obnoxious to the crown and hierarchy, was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to be signed by every one[28]. A.D. 1639.

After having taken these bold steps, it became necessary for the Scottish malcontents to maintain their religious opinions by military force; especially as they had good reason to believe, that, however just their resolutions might appear to themselves, they would not be assented to by the king. Although they did not despair of supernatural assistance, they thought it would be imprudent to slight the arm of flesh. Their measures, dictated by vigour and ability, were indeed alike distinguished by their wisdom and promptitude; and such as might have been expected from a regularly established commonwealth, rather than a tumultuous convention. The whole kingdom being in a manner engaged in the covenant, men of talents soon ac-

27 King's *Declaration*.—Burnet's *Mem.*—Rushworth, vol. ii.
28 King's *Declaration*.

quired that ascendency to which their natural superiority entitled them, and which their family interest or their character enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, well calculated to make a figure during such a turbulent period, took the lead; and the earl of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Lothian, with the lords Lindsay, Loudon, Yester, and Balmerino, distinguished themselves in the cause. Many Scottish officers, who had acquired reputation in Germany, during the religious wars, but particularly under Gustavus Adolphus, were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. And the chief command was intrusted to Lesley, earl of Leven, an officer of experience and ability. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; some of the royal castles were seised; and the whole country, except a small part, where the marquis of Huntley still supported the royal authority, was reduced under the power of the covenanters[29].

Charles, whose affection to his native kingdom was strong, but whose attachment to the hierarchy was yet stronger, hastened his military preparations for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scots, and re-establishing episcopacy. A respectable fleet, with five thousand soldiers on board, was intrusted to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail for the Frith of Forth, and attempt to divide the forces of the covenanters; and eighteen thousand foot and three thousand horse were put under the command of the earl of Arundel. The earl of Essex was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him. Many of them repaired to the camp, which had more the appearance of a splendid court than of a military armament. With part of this pompous rather than formidable force, Charles arrived at York, while Essex advanced and took possession of Berwick[30].

29 May's *Hist. of the Parl. of England.*—Burnet's *Mem.* 30 Clarendon, vol. i.

The opposite army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers, however, had more experience: and the soldiers, though newly raised, and but indifferently armed, were animated by the strongest motive that can stimulate men to action—zeal for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties. Yet so prudent were their leaders, who wished to avoid hostilities, that they immediately sent submissive messages, and craved leave to be permitted to treat with the king. It was now a very difficult matter for Charles to determine how to act. He was sensible that, while the force of the covenanters remained unbroken, their spirits high, and their ardour unabated, no reasonable terms could be expected from them; and should he submit to their pretensions, not only prelacy must be sacrificed to their fanaticism, but regal authority itself would become a mere shadow in Scotland. On the other hand, the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was yet in arms, and England dissatisfied, were too dreadful to permit him to hazard a battle: the utter loss of his authority, in both kingdoms, was to be feared. Besides, had he been inclined to rely on the bravery of his English subjects, they discovered no inclination to act offensively against the Scots, whose necessity of rising they pitied, and whose independent spirit they admired. The sympathy of civil and religious grievances had subdued all national animosity in their hearts.

It seemed, however, essential for the king's safety, that he should take a decided part; that he should either confide in the valour and generosity of the English nation, and attempt to bring the Scots under submission; or openly and candidly grant the covenanters such conditions as would exclude all future cause of complaint, and render rebellion inexcusable. Unfortunately in deliberating between these resolutions, Charles embraced neither; but concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots, within eight and forty hours, should dismiss

their forces; that the forts taken by the covenanters should be restored, the royal authority acknowledged, and the general assembly and parliament summoned, in order to compose all differences[31].

The consequences were such as might have been expected from so injudicious a negotiation. The pretensions of the Scots agreed so ill with the concessions which the king was willing to make, that their parliament was prorogued, when proceeding to ratify some obnoxious acts of assembly; and the war was renewed, with great advantages on the side of the covenanters. Charles's necessities had obliged him to disband his forces, immediately after the unmeaning pacification; and, from the unwillingness of the English to engage in the quarrel, it was impossible to assemble a new army without great expense, as well as loss of time. The more provident covenanters, who foresaw the probability of their being again obliged to support their pretensions by arms, were careful, in dismissing their troops, to take such measures as made it easy for them to collect their strength. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons, and the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion. Pious zeal rendered both watchful; and no sooner was the trumpet sounded, by their spiritual and temporal leaders, than all ranks of men repaired to their military stations, and cheerfully took the field once more, in defence of their civil and religious liberties[32].

The king, at length, collected a military force: but he soon discovered that his greatest difficulty yet remained; his revenues were insufficient to support his troops. How to proceed, in such an emergency, was a question not easy to be determined. After the many irregular methods of taxation which had been tried, and the multiplied disgusts thereby given to the puritanical party, as well as by the management of religion, little could

A. D. 1640.

31 Rushworth, vol. iii. 32 Clarendon, vol. i.

be expected from an English parliament; yet to that humiliating expedient the proud spirit of Charles was obliged to stoop, as the only means of obtaining supply; and, after a contemptuous intermission of eleven years, to summon the great council of the nation, and throw himself on the generosity of his insulted commons. The chief members, as might have been expected, insisted that the redress of grievances should be taken into consideration before they entered on the business of supply. They affirmed, that this was conformable to the ancient usage of parliament, and founded on a jealousy inherent in the constitution; that the necessity pleaded was purely ministerial, not national; for, if the same grievances, under which England laboured, had pushed the Scots to extremities, was it incumbent on the English to forge their own chains by imposing chains on their neighbours? Disgusted with these reasonings, and finding his friends in the house outnumbered by his enemies, Charles, by the advice of archbishop Laud and the marquis of Hamilton, formed and executed the desperate resolution of dissolving the parliament[33]. The marquis is supposed to have been secretly a friend to the covenanters.

Thus disappointed of parliamentary aid, the king, in order to satisfy his urgent wants, was obliged to have recourse to a method of supply which must have been very grating to a generous mind. Beside laying a heavy hand upon the clergy, he was under the necessity of borrowing large sums from his ministers and courtiers; and so much was he beloved by them, that the loan greatly exceeded his expectation. They subscribed above three hundred thousand pounds in a few days. By these means, he was enabled to send to the northward about nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland acted as commander-in-chief; the earl of Strafford, as lieutenant-general; and lord Conway as general of the horse[34].

33 Clarendon, vol. i.—Burnet's *Mem.* 34 Rushworth, vol. iii.

The troops of the covenanters, though more numerous, were sooner ready, and had marched to the borders of England, in consequence of a letter forged by lord Saville, in the name of six English noblemen, inviting the Scots to assist their neighbours in procuring a redress of their grievances [35]. But, notwithstanding their force, and this encouragement, they still preserved the most submissive language; and entered England, as they declared, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's person, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. They were opposed in their march, at Newburn upon Tyne, by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, under lord Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots, after entreating liberty to pass unmolested, attacked their opponents with great bravery; killed above fifty of them, and chased the rest from their ground. In consequence of this unexpected advantage, the English troops were seised with a panic: the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not thinking themselves safe even there, retreated with precipitation into Yorkshire [36].

The victorious covenanters took possession of Newcastle without offering any violence to the persons or property of the inhabitants. They not only observed the most exact discipline, but persevered so far in maintaining the appearance of an amicable disposition toward England, that they even paid for their provisions; and they sent messengers to the king, who was then at York, to renew their protestations of loyalty and submission, and to beg forgiveness for the unavoidable effusion of the blood of his English subjects. Charles understood the hypocritical insult; but his circumstances did not permit him to resent it. His people were highly dissatisfied; the troops were discouraged, the treasury was exhausted, the revenue antici-

35 Nalson's *Collections*, vol.ii.—Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.

36 This panic was chiefly occasioned by an unexpected discharge of artillery. Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.

pated; and every expedient for supply that ingenuity could suggest had been tried to the utmost. In this extremity, as the least of two evils, the king agreed to a treaty, in order to prevent the Scots from advancing upon him; and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish deputies at Rippon. The result of their deliberations was a cessation of arms; in consequence of which the Scots were to be allowed, for their maintenance, eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, during their stay in England[37].

It is worthy of remark, that the earl of Strafford, who had succeeded Northumberland in the command of the army, and who possessed greater vigour of mind than the king or any of the council, advised Charles to put all to the hazard of a battle, rather than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him; "for, "should your majesty even be defeated, nothing worse "can befall you," observed his lordship, "than what from "your inactivity you will certainly feel[38]." These prophetic words seem to have been dictated by the most infallible of all inspiration, that intuitive discernment of a penetrating genius, habituated to the contemplation of human affairs, which enables it to look into futurity.

The causes of disgust which had, for above thirty years, been multiplying in England, had now reached their height; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last resolved to yield to it. He therefore, in compliance with a number of petitions, and the general wish of his subjects, again assembled the parliament. Nov. 3. Many exorbitant claims, he was sensible, would be made, and must be complied with. But he little expected that great and decisive blow, which, on the meeting of parliament, was aimed at his authority, by the commons, in the person of his *minister*, the earl of Strafford

37 Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. iii. 38 Nalson, vol. ii.

ford; for as such that nobleman was considered, both on account of the credit which he possessed with the king, and of his own extensive and vigorous capacity. Not unacquainted with the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, Strafford would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and begged permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, being then lord-lieutenant, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire. But the king, judging his presence and counsel necessary at such a crisis, assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament[39]. So confident was Charles still of his own authority, though it was ready to expire, and so lofty were his ideas of the majesty of kings!

The commons thought less respectfully of it. No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him by Mr. Pym; who, after enumerating all the grievances under which the nation laboured, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed under the reign of a pious and virtuous king, for changing totally the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "We must inquire," added he, "from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and "though doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to "have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who "claims the guilty pre-eminence: HE is the earl of Straf- "ford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council "of York; a man who, in the memory of many present, "appeared in this house as an earnest vindicator of the "laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion of the "liberties of the people. But it is long since he turned "from these good affections; and, according to the custom "of *apostates*, he is become the greatest enemy to the "liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of "tyranny, that any age hath ever produced[40]."

39 Whitelocke. 40 *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix.—Clarendon, vol. i.

This political apostacy of Strafford seems, indeed, to have been his chief crime with the popular leaders, not to be expiated but with his blood. Pym was seconded in his charge by sir John Hotham, sir John Clotworthy, and others; and, after several hours spent in bitter invectives against the supposed criminal (the doors being locked to prevent a discovery of the concerted purpose), it was moved, that the earl should be accused of high treason. The motion was received with general approbation: the impeachment was voted; Mr. Pym was ordered to communicate it to the lords: most of the members attended him; and Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, and intended, it is said, the same day to have impeached some popular members of both houses, for holding a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, was suddenly ordered into custody, with many symptoms of prejudice in his judges as well as his accusers[41].

Elate with their success, the popular leaders ventured also to impeach archbishop Laud, the lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank[42]. The two last made their escape beyond sea, before they could be taken into custody: the primate was committed. From *traitors* the commons proceeded to the prosecution of *delinquents:* a term expressive of a degree and species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained, but which, by the interpretation then put upon it, exposed to punishment not only the king's ministers and counsellors, but many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy: all, indeed, however warranted by precedent or proclamation, who had acted without the authority of the statute-law of the land[43].

41 Clarendon, vol. i.

42 Grimstone, a popular member, called sir Francis Windebank, who was one of Laud's creatures, "the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon!" (Rushworth, vol. v.) Nothing can show in a stronger light the illiberal way of thinking, and the narrow prejudices of the times, than the use of such expressions, in the hous on so great an occasion.

43 Clarendon, vol. i.

The commons, prosecuting their bold career, declared the sanction of the two houses of parliament, as well as of the king, necessary to the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons; expelled from their house all monopolists; and appointed committees to inquire into all the violations of law and liberty, of which any complaint had been made. From the reports of these committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, at the same time that they animated and inflamed the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hampden was canceled; compositions for knighthood were stigmatised; the extension of the forest laws condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and almost all the measures which had been adopted for some years past were treated with reproach and obloquy[44].

All moderate men were now of opinion, that a design was formed to subvert the monarchy[45]; and the church was in no less danger. While the harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration, the pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. The popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired; and inspire confidence into their friends, as well as to overawe their opponents, judged it requisite still to delay the departure of the Scots; and the chaplains to their commissioners began openly to use the presbyterian form of worship, which had not hitherto

44 Nalson, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. iii.

45 " You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles, in a speech to the parliament; " a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they " desire to clear the wheels of any rust which may have grown upon them. The " engine," continued he, " may be restored to its former use and motions, pro- " vided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from being the intention of the commons. The machine they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which counteracted its operations, and destroyed its utility.

been tolerated in England, and with such amazing success in London, that multitudes crowded not only into the church assigned to them, but such as could not there find room clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching at least the distant murmur, or some broken phrases of the spiritual rhetoric[46].

This was the most effectual method of paying court to the zealous covenanters. To spread the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to establish that faith on the ruins of episcopacy, would have given greater satisfaction to their godly hearts than the temporal conquest of the kingdom; and the hour was approaching when that pleasure was to be theirs. The puritanical party among the commons, emboldened by their success in civil matters, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. Every day produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops; and so highly disgusted were all the lovers of liberty at the political doctrines propagated by the clergy, that no distinction, for a time, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and such as wished to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction[47].

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the established church were framed in different parts of the kingdom; and the epithet of the *ignorant* or *scandalous* priesthood was commonly applied to all churchmen, although the episcopal clergy in England during that age seem to have been sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen of the committee of religion, said to be signed by seven hundred puritanical ministers. But the petition which made the greatest noise was that from the city of London, for a total alteration of church government; to which sixteen thousand names were annexed[48].

46 Clarendon, vol. i. 47 Hume, vol. vi. 48 Clarendon, vol. i.

The popular leaders, notwithstanding these indications of a fanatical disposition in the people, and though generally disaffected to episcopacy, resolved to proceed with caution, and overturn the hierarchy by degrees. With this view, they introduced a bill prohibiting all clergymen from the exercise of any civil office. The bishops were consequently to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers; a measure very acceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who had observed with regret the devoted subserviency of the ecclesiastical order to the will of the monarch.

A. D. 1641. Charles, who had remained passive during all the violent proceedings of the present parliament, was now roused by the danger that threatened his favourite episcopacy; which was, indeed, the great pillar of the throne. He sent for the members of both houses to Whitehall, and told them, that he intended to reform all innovations in church and state, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the purest times of queen Elizabeth[49]. "But some men," said he, "encouraged by the sitting of this parliament, "more maliciously than ignorantly, put no difference "between *reformation* and *alteration* of government. "Though I am for the former," added he, "I cannot "give way to the latter. I will not say that bishops may "not have overstretched their spiritual power, or en-"croached upon the temporal; which if you find, correct "and reform the abuse, according to the wisdom of "former times: and so far I am with you. Nay, farther; "if, upon serious debate, you shall show me, that bishops "have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, "and not necessary to the church for the support of epis-

49 If the majority of the commons, or at least of the leading men among them, had not been inclined to the total overthrow of the church and monarchy, a fair opportunity was here afforded them of effecting a thorough reconciliation of parties, by a temperate reformation of civil and ecclesiastical abuses.

"copacy, I shall not be unwilling to persuade them to "lay it down. Yet by this you must understand that I "cannot consent to the taking away of their *voice in parliament;* a privilege which they anciently enjoyed un-"der so many of my predecessors, even before the Con-"quest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound "to maintain as one of the fundamental institutions of "this kingdom[50]."

The king, however, was soon freed from all immediate apprehensions on this subject by the peers, a great majority of whom rejected the bill. But the puritan members of the other house, to show how little they were discouraged, brought in a bill for the abolition of episcopacy; and although they thought proper to let it rest for a while, their purpose was not the less sincere. Other affairs demanded their present attention. They procured the royal sanction to a bill, declaring it unlawful to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament; after which, they resolved, by another act, to prevent the discontinuance of parliaments above three years. Though, by this measure and its concomitants, some of the noblest and most valuable privileges of the crown were retrenched, such a law was indispensably necessary for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. "Let no man," said the spirited and artful Digby, who knew well the importance of the bill, "object any dero-"gation from the king's prerogative by it. His honour, "his power, will be as conspicuous in commanding that a "parliament shall assemble every third year, as in com-"manding a parliament to be called this or that year. There "is more majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes "than in actuating subordinate effects. In chasing ill mi-"nisters," added he emphatically, "we do but dissipate "clouds that may gather again: but, in voting this bill, "we shall perpetuate our sun, our sovereign, in his

50 *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix.

vertical, his noon-day lustre[51]." Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, gave his reluctant assent to the bill.

The victory of the commons was now complete; and, had they used it with moderation, the members of this parliament would have merited the praise of all sincere lovers of their country, as well as of the enthusiasts of liberty. Nor would their subsequent abolition of the arbitrary courts of star-chamber and high-commission, so grievous to the nation, be imputed to them as cause of blame. But their cruel persecution of the earl of Strafford, and their subsequent encroachments upon the king's authority, which involved the three kingdoms in all the horrors of civil war, must render their patriotism very questionable in the opinion of every dispassionate man. Their unjustifiable encroachments on the authority of Charles we shall afterwards have occasion to consider: here we must examine the progress of their vengeance against his minister, whose high reputation, for experience and capacity, made them regard his death as their only security for success in their farther attacks upon the throne.

In consequence of this idea, the impeachment of Strafford had been pushed on with the utmost vigour. After he had been sent to the tower, a select committee of both houses received orders to prepare a charge against him, with authority to examine all witnesses, to call for every paper, and to use all the modes of scrutiny, in regard to any part of the earl's behaviour or conduct[52]: and, (as Mr. Hume remarks), after so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies, a man who had acted in a variety of public stations must have been very cautious, or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his proceedings, some matter of accusation against him. Nothing, however, was found

51 *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix. 52 Clarendon, vol. i.

against the prisoner that could properly be brought under the description of treason; a crime which the laws of England had defined with the most scrupulous exactness, in order to protect the subject against the violence of the king and his ministers. Aware of this, the commons attempted to prove that he had "endeavoured to subvert the "fundamental laws of the kingdom[53]:" and, as the statute of treason made no mention of such a species of guilt, they invented a kind of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in an inferior degree, should, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law; the king and parliament, as they asserted, having power to determine what is treason, and what is not. They accordingly voted that the facts proved against the earl, taken collectively, were treasonable[54].

Strafford defended himself with firmness and ability. After pleading to each particular article of the charge, he brought the whole together, in order to repel the imputation of treason. "Where," said he, "has this species "of guilt been so long concealed? Where has this fire "been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no "smoke should appear, till it burst out at once to con-"sume me and my children? It were better to live under "no law at all, and, by the maxims of cautious prudence, "to conform ourselves the best we can to the arbitrary "will of a master, than fancy we have a law on which we "can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a pu-

53 Rushworth, vol. iv.

54 Rushworth, vol. iv.—As a proof how far the popular leaders were hurried away by their vindictive passions, it will be sufficient to quote the speech of Mr. St. John, who affirmed that Strafford had no title to plead law, because he had endeavoured to destroy the law. "It is true," said he, "we give law to hares and deers, for they "are beasts of chase: but it was never accounted cruel or unfair to destroy foxes and "wolves, wherever they can be found; for they are beasts of prey!" Clarendon, vol. i.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR...

"nishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by "maxims unheard of till the very moment of prosecution. "If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; "in case there be no buoy to give me warning, the party "shall pay me damages: but if the anchor be marked "out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where "is the mark set upon this crime? where the token by "which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under "water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, "could teach me to avoid it, or save me from the destruc-"tion with which I am at present threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and eighty years since "treasons were defined; and so long has it been since "any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, "before myself. We have lived, my lords, happy to our-"selves at home; we have lived gloriously abroad to the "world: let us be content with what our fathers left; let "not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they "were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wis-"dom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for "yourselves, for your posterity, for the whole kingdom, "to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody and myste-"rious volumes of *arbitrary* and *constructive treasons*, as "the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, "and betake yourselves to the plain *letter* of the *statute*, "which tells you where the crime is, and points out to "you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleep-"ing lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which "have lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten and "neglected. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords, "the most severe of any; that I for my own sins, not for "my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent "so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native "country. These gentlemen at the bar, however, say they

"speak for the commonwealth; and they may believe "so: yet, under favour, it is I who, in this particular, "speak for the commonwealth. Precedents like those "which are endeavoured to be established against me "must draw along with them such inconveniences and "miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom will be in the "condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV.—*no man* "shall *know* by *what rule* to *govern* his *words* or *actions*.

"Impose not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon "ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with "cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine "them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, "by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable: "the public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; for "no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, "will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such un- "known perils.

"My lords, I have now troubled your lordships too "long; a great deal longer than I should have done, were "it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a "saint in heaven has left me. I should be loth"—Here his grief deprived him of utterance. He let fall a tear, pointed to his children, who were placed near him, and thus proceeded:—"What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; "but that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, I con- "fess, wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to "pardon my infirmity"—again dropping a tear. "Some- "thing I should have added, but find I shall not be able, "and therefore shall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank "God, I have been, by his good blessing, sufficiently in- "structed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoy- "ments, compared to the importance of our eternal dura- "tion; and so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with "all tranquillity of mind, I submit, clearly and freely, to "your judgements; and whether that righteous doom "shall be life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gra-

"titude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author "of my existence[55]."

Certainly, says Whitelocke, never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgement, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than did this great and excellent person: and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity[56]. It is truly remarkable, that the historian, who makes these candid and liberal observations, was himself chairman of that committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate nobleman!

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days; and Strafford behaved with so much modesty and humility, as well as firmness and vigour, that the commons, though aided by all the weight of authority, would have found it impossible to obtain a sentence against him, if the peers had not been over-awed by the tumultuous populace. Reports were every day spread of the most alarming plots and conspiracies; and about six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the two houses of parliament. When any of the lords passed, the cry for justice against Strafford resounded in their ears; and such as were suspected of friendship for that obnoxious minister, were menaced with the vengeance of the furious multitude[57]. Intimidated by these threats, only forty-five, out of about eighty peers who had constantly attended this important trial, were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house, and nineteen of that number had the courage to vote against it[58]; a strong presumption that, if no danger had been apprehended, it would have been rejected by a considerable majority.

Popular violence having thus far triumphed, it was next

55 Rushworth, vol. iv. 56 *Mem.* p. 43. 57 Clarendon, vol. i.
58 Whitelocke, p. 43.

employed to extort the king's consent. Crowds of people besieged Whitehall, and seconded their demand of justice on the minister, with the loudest clamours, and most open threatenings against the monarch. Rumours of plots and conspiracies against the parliament were anew circulated; invasions and insurrections were apprehended; and the whole nation was raised into such a ferment, as seemed to portend some great and immediate convulsion. On which-ever side the king turned his eyes, he saw no resource or security, except in submitting to the will of the populace. His courtiers, consulting their own personal safety, and perhaps their interest, more than their master's honour, advised him to pass the bill of attainder; the pusillanimous judges, when consulted, declared it legal; and the queen, who formerly bore no good-will toward Strafford, alarmed at the appearance of so frightful a danger, as that to which the royal family must be exposed by protecting him, now became an importunate solicitor for his death. She hoped, if the people were gratified in this demand, that their discontents would finally subside; and that, by such a measure, she should acquire a more absolute ascendency over the king, as well as some credit with the popular party. Bishop Juxon alone, in this trying extremity, had honesty or courage to offer an opinion worthy of his prince: he advised him, if he did not think the prisoner criminal, by no means to give his assent to the bill[59].

59 Clarendon, vol. i.—This opinion has been caviled at. "A king of England," it has been said, "ought never to interpose his private opinion against the other parts of the legislature." If so, the royal assent is a matter of mere form; and perhaps, in most cases, it ought to be so. But, in the present instance, the king was surely the best judge, whether Strafford, as a minister, had advised the subversion of the constitution; or, as an officer, had exceeded the extent of his commission: and, if he was blameable in neither capacity, Charles was bound, both in honour and conscience, to withhold his assent from the bill. The royal assent is not, at present, necessary to bills of attainder; the jealousy of our constitution having cut off that, among other dangerous prerogatives.

While Charles was struggling between virtue and necessity, he received a letter from Strafford, entreating him, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to the innocent life of his unhappy servant, and thus to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them that request for which they were so clamorous. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God, than all the world can "do besides: to a willing man there is no injury[60]. And "as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so to you, sir, I can resign the life of this "world with all imaginable cheerfulness in the just "acknowledgement of your exceeding favours[61]."

This illustrious effort of disinterestedness, worthy of the noble mind of Strafford, and equal to any instance of generosity recorded in the annals of mankind, was ill-rewarded by Charles; who, after a little more hesitation, as if his scruples had been merely of the religious kind, granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. These commissioners were empowered, at the same time, to give assent to a bill, that the parliament then sitting should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the consent of the majority of the members[62]; a bill of yet more fatal consequence to his authority than the other, as it rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as well as uncontrollable. But, in the moment of remorse for assenting to the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in the murder of his friend, this enormous concession appears to have escaped his penetration, and to have been considered comparatively as a trivial point.

60 It appears that the king had sent a letter to Strafford during his confinement, in which he assured him, upon the word of a king, that he should not suffer in life, honour, and fortune. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii.

61 Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. v.

62 Id. ibid.

The king might still have saved his minister, by granting him a reprieve; but that was not thought adviseable, while the minds of men were in such agitation. He sent, however, by the hands of the prince of Wales, a letter addressed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of the prisoner's sentence, or at least to procure some delay. Both requests were rejected; and Strafford, finding his fate inevitable, prepared to meet death with the same dignity with which he had lived. In those awful moments of approaching dissolution, though neither cheered by that ray of popular immortality which beams upon the soul of the expiring patriot, nor consoled by the affectionate sorrow of the spectators, his erect mind found resources within itself; and, supported by the sentiment of conscious integrity, maintained its unbroken resolution amid the terrors of death and the triumphant exultations of his vindictive enemies. His discourse, and also his deportment on the scaffold, discovered equal composure and courage. "The shedding of innocent blood," said he, "as a propitiatory sacrifice, is a bad omen, I fear, "of the intended reformation of the state." And on preparing himself for the block, he made this memorable declaration: "I thank God I am no way afraid of death, "nor daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay "down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to "repose!" He accordingly submitted to his doom, and was beheaded at one blow[63].

Thus, my dear Philip, perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the last great prop of royalty in the turbulent reign of Charles I. His character has been severely handled by our zealous republican writers; but by none of them has it been so completely mangled as by a furious May 12.

63 Rushworth, vol. v.

female, who will allow him neither virtue nor talents. But his abilities as a statesman, and his unshaken attachment to his master, you will readily perceive, were the chief causes of his ruin; and in the future proceedings of that parliament, to whose resentment he fell a sacrifice, you will find the best apology for his administration. A certain degree of vigour (and more perhaps than Strafford exerted), was necessary to preserve the church and monarchy from the ravages of those civil and religious enthusiasts, who soon overturned both.

The immediately subsequent proceedings of the commons, however, though inroads on the royal prerogative, were by no means reprehensible. They brought in a bill, which was unanimously passed by both houses, for the suppression of the star-chamber and high-commission courts, so odious to all the lovers of liberty. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the privy council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent to this statute, which produced a salutary change in our constitution. Several other arbitrary courts were abolished: and the king, at the request of his parliament, instead of patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour[64]; an advance of the utmost importance toward the impartial administration of justice, and the exclusion of the influence of the crown from the ordinary courts of law.

In a word, if the commons had proceeded no farther, they would have deserved the praise of all the friends of freedom; and even the iniquity of Strafford's attainder, their most blameable measure, would have been lost amid the blaze of their beneficial provisions and necessary regulations, which had generally a reference to posterity. But, like all political bodies who had rapidly acquired power, having gone so far, they did not know where to stop; but

64 Clarendon, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 47.—May, p. 107.

advanced insensibly from one gradation to another, till they usurped the whole authority of the state.

Of these usurpations, and their consequences, I shall hereafter take notice; now observing, that the parliament, after sending home the Scots, and disbanding the English army, put a temporary stop to its proceedings; and that Charles paid a visit to North-Britain, with a view of settling the government to the satisfaction of the covenanters.

LETTER V.

History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Execution of the Earl of Strafford, to the Beginning of the Great Rebellion, in 1642.

WHEN Charles arrived in Scotland, he found his subjects of that kingdom elate with the success of their military expedition. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters at Newcastle, as long as the popular leaders had occasion for them, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their *brotherly assistance* [1]. They were declared, in the articles of pacification, to have been *ever* good subjects; and their hostile irruptions were approved, as enterprises calculated and *intended* for his majesty's *honour* and *advantage!* To carry yet farther the triumph over the king, these articles, containing terms so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a parliamentary vote, to be read in all churches, on a day of thanksgiving appointed for the national pacification [2].

People in such a humour were not likely to be satisfied with trifling concessions. The Scottish parliament began

1 Nalson, vol. i. 2 Rushworth, vol. v.

with abolishing the Lords of Articles; who, from their constitution, were supposed to be entirely devoted to the court, and without whose consent no motion could be made; a circumstance peculiarly grievous in the northern legislature, where the peers and commons formed only one house. A law for triennal parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should appoint the time and place for holding the ensuing one. So far all perhaps was laudable; but subjects who encroach on the authority of their prince never know where to draw the line. In their rage for redressing grievances, they invaded the most essential branches of royal prerogative. The king was in a manner dethroned in Scotland, by an article, which declared, that no member of the privy council (in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration was vested), no officer of state, and none of the judges, should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament [3].

To these encroachments Charles quietly submitted, in order to satisfy his Scottish subjects, and was preparing to return to England, in hopes of completing a similar plan of pacification, when he received intelligence that a bloody rebellion had broken out in Ireland, accompanied with circumstances of cruelty and devastation which fill the soul with horror. Surrounded by melancholy incidents and humiliating demands, nature and fortune, no less than faction and fanaticism, seemed to have conspired the ruin of this unhappy prince.

The conduct of James I. with regard to the affairs of Ireland, was truly politic; and the same plan of administration was pursued by Charles; namely, to reconcile the turbulent natives to the authority of law, by the regular distribution of justice, and to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been addicted, by in-

3 Burnet's *Mem. of the House of Hamilton.*

troducing arts and industry among them. For these salutary purposes, and also to secure the dominion of Ireland to the crown of England, great numbers of British subjects had been carried over to that island, and colonies planted in different parts of it; so that, after a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the two nations not only seemed to be obliterated, but the country in general wore a less savage aspect.

To the tranquillity, as well as the prosperity of Ireland, the vigorous government of the earl of Strafford had contributed not a little. During his administration, agriculture had made great advances, by means of the English and Scottish plantations; the shipping of the kingdom had been doubled; the customs trebled upon the same rates; and manufactures introduced and promoted[4]. But, soon after that minister had fallen a victim to popular fury, dignified with the forms of justice, the pleasing scene was overcast; and Charles found the parliament of that kingdom as high in its pretensions as those of England and Scotland, and as ready to rise in its encroachments in proportion to his concessions. The court of high-commission was voted to be a grievance; martial law was abolished; the jurisdiction of the council annihilated, and proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority[5].

The English colonists, who were the chief movers of these measures, did not perceive, in their rage for liberty, the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Protestants scarcely formed the sixth part of the inhabitants, and where two-thirds of the natives were still in a state of wild barbarity. The opportunity, however, thus afforded to them, did not escape the discernment of the old Irish. They observed with pleasure

4 Warwick's Memoirs, p. 115.—Rushworth, vol. iv.—Nalson, vol. ii. Strafford may be said to have given a beginning to the linen manufacture in Ireland, now the great staple of that country.

5 Id. ibid.

every impolitic step, and determined on a general revolt, in order to free their country from the dominion of foreigners, and their religion from the insults of profane heretics. In this resolution they were encouraged by Roger More, who was distinguished among them by his valour and abilities.

More maintained a close correspondence with lord Macguire and sir Phelim O'Neal, the most powerful of the old Irish chieftains; and he took every opportunity of representing to his countrymen, that the king's authority, in Britain, was reduced to so low an ebb, that he could not exert himself with any vigour, in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland: that the Catholics in the Irish house of commons, assisted by the Protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and the power of the lord lieutenant, as to facilitate the conducting of any conspiracy that should be formed; that the Scots in having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and taken the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had much greater grievances to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them from their ancient possessions, were but a handful in comparison with the original inhabitants that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, and trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the kingdom; that a body of eight thousand men, raised and disciplined by government, in order to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, were now thrown loose, and ready for any daring or desperate enterprise[6]; that, although the Catholics had hitherto,

6 The English commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army, the officers of which were Protestants, but the private men Catholics; and importuned the king with solicitations till he agreed to disband it. Nor would they consent to his augmenting the standing army to five thousand men; a number which he judged necessary to retain Ireland in obedience. They even frustrated an

from the moderation of their indulgent prince, enjoyed in some measure the exercise of their religion, they must expect that the government would thenceforth be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical leaders of the parliament having, at last, subdued the sovereign, would doubtless extend their ambitious views and fanatical politics to Ireland, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, and make the Catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution to which their brethren in England were already exposed; that a people, taking arms to rescue their native country from the dominion of foreign invaders, could at no time be considered as rebels; still less could the Irish be regarded as such during the present disorders, when royal authority, to which alone they could owe any obedience, was in a manner usurped by a set of desperate heretics, from whom they could expect no favour or indulgence, but might apprehend every violence and severity[7].

Influenced by these considerations, all the heads of the native Irish engaged in the conspiracy; and it was not doubted that the old planters (or the *English of the Pale*, as they were called), being all Catholics, would afterwards join in an attempt to restore their religion to its ancient splendor. The beginning of winter was fixed for the commencement of this revolt, that there might be greater difficulty in transporting forces from England: and the plan was, that sir Phelim O'Neal and his confederates should, on one day, attack all the provincial English settlements; while lord Macguire and Roger More, on the same day, should surprise the castle of Dublin.

A concurrence of favourable circumstances seemed to

agreement, which he had made with the Spanish ambassador, to have the former troops transported into Flanders, and enlisted in his master's service; Charles thinking it dangerous, that eight thousand men accustomed to idleness, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a people so turbulent and predatory as the Irish. Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. v.—Dugdale, p. 57.

7 Sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion*.

have rendered the success of this undertaking infallible. The Irish Catholics discovered such a propensity to revolt, that it was not thought necessary to trust the secret to many persons; and the appointed day drew nigh without any discovery having been made to government. The earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lord lieutenant, remained in London; and the two chief justices, sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase, were men of slender abilities. The attempt upon the castle of Dublin, however, was defeated by one O'Conolly, who betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons. More escaped, Macguire was taken; and Mac-Mahon, another of the conspirators, also being seised, discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and increased the terror and consternation of the Protestants[8].

But this intelligence, though it saved Dublin, was obtained too late to enable the government to prevent the intended rebellion. O'Neal and his associates immediately took arms in Ulster. They began with seising the houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English and Scottish settlers, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty began its operations: a general massacre commenced of the English Protestants, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes, who exercised on them a degree of barbarity unequalled in the history of any other nation, and at which credibility is startled. No age, no sex, no condition, were spared: the wife weeping over her murdered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was butchered with them, and even pierced by the same stroke; all the ties of blood and of society were dissolved; and friends, relatives, and companions, were hunted down by their kindred and connexions, and involved in one common

Oct. 23.

8 Sir John Temple—Rushworth, vol. v.

ruin, by those whom they had formerly considered as most sincerely attached to their persons, and who were most near and dear to them [9]! The women, forgetting the character of their sex, emulated the men in the practice of horrible acts of cruelty; in comparison with some of which, death might be regarded as a light punishment, and even as a happy release from pain.

Amidst these diabolical enormities, the sacred name of religion resounded on every side; not to arrest the fury of the murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of natural or social sympathy. The English Protestants were marked out by the Catholic priests for slaughter, as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men. Perfidy and cruelty were accordingly declared to be meritorious: and if a number of Englishmen assembled together, in order to defend themselves to extremity, and to sweeten death at least by taking revenge on their destroyers, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels made them share the same fate with former victims. Nor was this all. While death finished the sufferings of each object of cruelty, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his ears, that these dying agonies were but a prelude to torments infinite and eternal [10].

Such were the barbarities, my dear Philip, by which sir Phelim O'Neal and the Irish in Ulster signalised their rebellion. The English colonies there were annihilated; and from Ulster the flames of rebellion suddenly spread over the three other provinces of Ireland, where the English had established settlements. In these provinces, however, though death and slaughter were not uncommon, the Irish pretended to act with greater moderation and hu-

9 Temple—Rushworth.

10 Temple, p. 94—188.—Whitelocke, p. 47.—Rushworth, vol. v.

manity. But cruel, alas! was their humanity, and unfeeling their moderation. Not content with expelling the English planters from their houses, in the most brutal manner, seising their possessions, and wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out defenceless to all the severities of the season; while the heavens themselves, as if joining in conspiracy against the unhappy sufferers, were armed with cold and tempests unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished [11]. Even the English of the *Pale*, who at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied, soon found the interests of religion to prevail over their regard to their mother-country and their allegiance to their sovereign; and, joining the old Irish, rivaled them in every act of violence and cruelty against the English Protestants [12]. The number of persons who perished by all these barbarities, is computed at forty thousand; and the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thousand men, yet thirsting for further slaughter and richer spoils, now threatened Dublin, where the miserable remnant of the English planters had taken refuge [13].

The king, while preparing to leave Edinburgh, as already observed, had received, by a messenger from the North of Ireland, an account of this dreadful insurrection, which every friend to humanity ought to hold in perpetual abhorrence [14]. He immediately communicated his intelli-

11 Temple's *Hist.*

12 Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they seduced many of their deluded countrymen; they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed that the cause of their taking arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, so shamefully invaded by the puritanical parliament. Rushworth, vol. v.

13 Whitelocke, p. 49.—Hume's *Hist.*

14 Many attempts have been made to throw a veil over the enormities of the Irish massacre. The natural love of independence, the tyranny of the English government, and the rapacity of the English soldiers, have been pleaded as powerful

gence to the Scottish parliament, hoping that the same zeal which had induced the covenanters twice to run to arms, and assemble troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign, would make them fly to the relief of their Protestant brethren in Ireland, now labouring under the cruel persecutions of the Catholics. But the zeal of the Scots, as is usual among religious sects, was extremely feeble, when neither stimulated by a sense of interest nor by apprehensions of danger. They therefore resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours they should send to Ireland; and as the English commons, with whom they were already closely connected, could alone fulfil any article that might be agreed on, they sent commissioners to London, to treat with that order of the state to which the sovereign authority was really transferred[15].

Thus disappointed in his expectation of aid from the Scots, and sensible of his own inability to subdue the Irish rebels, Charles was obliged to have recourse to the English parliament; to whose care and wisdom he imprudently declared he was willing to commit the conduct and prosecution of the war. The commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, and who had aggrandised themselves by the difficulties and distresses of the crown, seemed to consider it as a peculiar happiness, that the rebellion in Ireland had succeeded, at so critical a period, to the pacification of Scotland. They immediately took advantage of the expression by which the king committed to them

motives for rebellion, and strong incentives to vengeance, in the breasts of the injured and oppressed natives; and much trouble has been taken to prove, that the horrors of religious hate, though provoked by persecution, have been greatly exaggerated. But, from the vindictive and sanguinary disposition of the Irish Catholics in later times, we may easily believe that the description of the cruelties of their bigoted and barbarous ancestors has not been overcharged. The stimulating causes I have not concealed, nor have I concealed their effects. The general slaughter I have reduced as low even as Mr. Brooke, the author of the *Trial of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, could wish; but truth forbids me to disguise the atrocious circumstances with which it was accompanied.

15 Rushworth, vol. v.

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the care of that island: and to this usurpation, the boldest they had yet made, Charles was obliged to submit, both because of his utter inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the infamous reproach with which he was already loaded by the puritans, of countenancing the Irish rebellion.

The commons, however, who had projected farther innovations at home, took no steps towards suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, but such as also tended to give them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw would soon be excited in England. They levied money under colour of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for enterprises that more nearly concerned them: they took arms from the king's magazines, under the same pretext, but kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself. Whatever law they deemed necessary for their own aggrandisement was voted, under pretence of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish conspiracy in that kingdom, and which still threatened total destruction to the Protestant interest throughout his dominions[16]. And so great was the confidence of the people in those hypocritical zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the rebels, that, although no forces were sent to Ireland, and very little money was remitted during the deepest distress of the Protestants, the fault was never imputed to the parliament!

The commons in the mean time were employed in framing that famous remonstrance, which was soon after followed by such extraordinary consequences. It was not, as usual, addressed to the king, but was a declared appeal to the people. Besides gross falsehoods and malignant insinuations, it contained an enumeration of every unpopular measure which Charles had embraced, from the

16 Clarendon, vol. ii.

commencement of his reign to the calling of the parliament that framed it, accompanied with many jealous prognostics of future grievances; and the acrimony of the style was equal to the harshness of the matter.

A performance so full of gall, and so obviously intended to excite general dissatisfaction, after the ample concessions made by the crown, was not only regarded by all discerning men as a signal for farther attacks upon the royal prerogative, but as a certain indication of the approaching abolition of monarchical government in England. The opposition to the remonstrance, in the house of commons, was therefore very great. The debate upon it was warmly managed for above fourteen hours; and it was at last voted only by a small majority, seemingly in consequence of the weariness of the king's party, consisting chiefly of elderly men, many of whom had retired[17]. It was not sent up to the house of peers.

No sooner was the remonstrance of the commons published, than the king sent forth an answer to it. Sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured in this contest, he contented himself with observing, that, even during the period so much complained of, the people had enjoyed not only a greater share of happiness and prosperity than neighbouring countries could boast, but than England itself had enjoyed during times esteemed the most fortunate. He mentioned the great concessions made by the crown, protested his sincerity in the reformed religion, and reprobated the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person, government, and the established church. "If, notwithstanding these grants," added he, "any malignant party shall take heart, and "be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their "country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under "whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they "shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest,

17 Rushworth, vol. v.—Nalson, vol. ii.—Whitelocke, p. 49.—Dugdale, p. 71.

"and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they "shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to "loosen the bands of government, that disorder and con-"fusion may break in upon us; I doubt not that God, in "his good time, will discover them to me, and that the "wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will "join with me in their suppression and punishment[18]."

But the ears of the people were too much prejudiced against the king to listen patiently to any thing that he could offer in his own vindication; so that the commons proceeded in their usurpations upon the church and monarchy, and made their purpose of subverting both every day more evident. They had lately accused thirteen bishops of high crimes and misdemeanors, for enacting canons without consent of parliament, though no other method had ever been practised since the foundation of the government; and they now insisted, that the peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. But the majority of the peers, who plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the farther encroachments of the commons, paid little regard to such an unreasonable request. Enraged at this and other checks, the popular leaders openly told the lords, that they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were merely individuals who held their seats in a particular capacity; and therefore, "if their lordships would "not consent to the passing of acts necessary for the "preservation of the people, the commons must join "such of the lords as were more sensible of the danger, "and represent the matter to his majesty[19]."

This was a plain avowal of the democratical principles that began now to be propagated among the people, and which had long prevailed in the house of commons, as

18 Nalson, vol ii. 19 Clarendon, vol ii.

well as a bold attempt to form a party among the lords. And the tide of popularity seised many of the peers, and hurried them into a deviation from the established maxims of civil policy. Of these the most considerable were the earls of Essex and Northumberland, lord Kimbolton, and lord Say and Sele; men who, sensible that their credit was high with the nation, rashly ventured to encourage an enthusiastic spirit, which they soon found they wanted power to regulate or control.

The majority of the nobles, however, still took shelter under the throne; and the commons, in order to procure a majority in the upper house, again had recourse to the populace. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation[20]: they even ordered halberts to be brought into the hall where they assembled; and thus armed themselves against those desperate conspiracies, with which they pretended they were hourly threatened, and the feigned discoveries of which were industriously propagated among the credulous people. Multitudes flocked to Westminster, and insulted the bishops and such of the peers as adhered to the crown. The lords voted a declaration against these tumults, and sent it to the lower house; but the commons refused their concurrence; and to make their pleasure farther known, they ordered several seditious apprentices, who had been committed to prison, to be set at liberty[21].

Thus encouraged, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and insulted and threatened the king and the royal family. Such audacious behaviour roused the young gentlemen of the inns of court, who, with some reduced officers, undertook the defence of their sovereign; and between them and the populace passed frequent skirmishes, which rarely ended without bloodshed. These gentlemen, by way of reproach, gave the fanatical in-

20 *Journ.* 16th and 30th of Nov. 1641. 21 Nalson, vol. ii.

sulters of majesty the name of ROUNDHEADS, on account of their short cropped hair, while the rabble called their more polished opponents, by reason of their being chiefly mounted on horseback, CAVALIERS; names which became famous during the civil war that followed, and which contributed not a little to inflame the animosity between the parties, during the prelude to that contest, by affording the factious an opportunity to rendezvous under them, and signalise their mutual hatred, by the reproachful ideas that were affixed to them by each party, no less than by the political distinctions which they marked.

The Cavaliers, who affected a liberal way of thinking, as well as a gaiety and freedom of manners inconsistent with puritanical ideas, were represented by the Roundheads as a set of abandoned profligates, equally destitute of religion and morals; the devoted tools of the court, and zealous abettors of arbitrary power. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, regarded the Roundheads as a gloomy, narrow-minded, fanatical herd, determined enemies to kingly power, and to all distinction of ranks in society. But in these characters, drawn by the passions of the two parties, we must not expect impartiality; both are certainly overcharged. The Cavaliers were, in general, sincere friends to liberty and the English constitution; nor were republican and levelling principles by any means general at first among the Roundheads, though they came at last to predominate. It must however be admitted, that the Cavaliers, in order to show their contempt of puritanical austerity, often carried their convivial humour to an indecent excess; and that the gloomy temper and religious extravagances of the Roundheads afforded an ample field for the raillery of their facetious adversaries.

In consequence of these distinctions, and the tumults that accompanied them, the bishops, being easily known by their habits, and exposed to the most dangerous insults from the enraged sectaries, to whom they had long been

obnoxious, were deterred from attending their duty in parliament. They, therefore, imprudently protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should pass during their forced and involuntary absence. The lords, incensed at this passionate step, desired a conference with the commons on the subject. The opportunity was eagerly seised by the lower-house; an impeachment of treason was sent up against twelve of the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and invalidate the authority of the legislature; and they were immediately ordered into confinement [22].

The king, who had hastily approved the protest of the bishops, was soon after hurried into a greater indiscretion; an indiscretion which may be considered as the immediate cause of the civil war that ensued, and to which, or some similar violence, the popular leaders had long wished to provoke him by their intemperate language. They at last succeeded beyond their most sanguine hopes. Enraged to find that all his concessions only served to increase the demands of the commons; that the people, who, on his return from Scotland, had received him with expressions of duty and affection, were again roused to sedition; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and a method of address adopted, not only unsuitable to a great prince, but which a private gentleman could not bear without resentment; he began to suspect that his government wanted vigour, and to ascribe these unexampled acts of insolence to his own facility of temper. In this opinion he was encouraged by the queen and the courtiers, who were continually reproaching him with indolence, and entreating him to display the majesty of a sovereign; before which, as they fondly imagined, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink [23].

Charles, ever ready to adopt violent councils, and take advice from those who were inferior to A.D. 1642.

22 Rushworth, vol. v.—Clarendon, vol. ii.

23 Clarendon, vol. ii.

himself in capacity, gave way to these arguments, and ordered the attorney-general to enter an accusation of high-treason against lord Kimbolton (afterward earl of Manchester) and five commoners; namely sir Arthur Haselrig, Holles, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The chief articles of impeachment were, that they had traitorously laboured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to deprive the king of his regal power; had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people; had invited and encouraged an hostile army to invade the kingdom; had employed force and terror to draw the parliament to their side; had raised and countenanced tumults, and even levied war against their sovereign [24].

That so bold a measure should have been embraced at such a crisis, was matter of surprise to all men, and of sincere regret to the real friends of the constitution; more especially, as it did not appear that the members accused were more criminal than the body of the commons, except perhaps by the exertion of superior abilities. But whatever might be their guilt, it was evident, that, while the upper house was scarcely able to maintain its independence, it would never be permitted by the populace, had it even possessed courage and inclination, to pass a sentence which must totally subdue the lower house; these five members being the very heads of the popular party, and the chief promoters of their ambitious projects.

The astonishment excited by this measure was soon, however, transferred to attempts more bold and precipitant. A serjeant at arms was sent to the house of commons, to demand, in the king's name, the five uncourtly members. He returned without any positive answer; and messengers were employed to arrest them wherever they might be found. The house voted this conduct to be a breach of privilege, and commanded every one to defend

24 Whitelocke, p. 53.—Rushworth, vol. v.

the liberty of the members. Irritated at so much opposition, the king went to the house of commons, in hopes of surprising the accused persons; but they, having private intelligence of his resolution, had withdrawn before he entered[25]. Jan. 3.

His embarrassment, on this discovery, may be more easily conceived than described. Sensible of his imprudence when too late, and ashamed of the situation in which he found himself, "I assure you, on the word of a king," he said, "I never did intend any force, but shall proceed "against these men in a fair and legal way; for I never "meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do "what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat "what I have said formerly; that whatever I have done "in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do intend "to maintain it." The commons were in the utmost disorder during his stay; and when he was departing, some members cried aloud, "Privilege! privilege[26]!"

The house adjourned to the next day; and the accused members, to intimate the greater apprehension of personal danger, removed into the city the same evening. The citizens were in arms the whole night; and some incendiaries, or people actuated by their own fanatical fears, ran from gate to gate crying that the cavaliers, with the king at their head, were coming to burn the city. In order to show how little occasion there was for any such alarm, and what confidence he placed in the citizens, Charles went the next morning to Guildhall, attended only by three or four noblemen, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the lord-mayor and common-council. He had accused some men, he said, of high treason; and as he intended to proceed against them in a legal way, he hoped they would not meet with protection in the city. The citizens, however, showed no inclination to give them up; and the king left the hall, little better satisfied than

25 Whitelocke, p. 51.—Rushworth, vol. v. 26 Whitelocke.

with his visit to the house of commons[27]. In passing through the streets, he had the mortification to hear the insulting cry, "Privilege of parliament!" resound from every quarter; and one of the populace, more daring than the rest, saluted him with the words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash sovereign:—"To your tents, O Israel[28]!"

When the commons met, they affected the utmost terror and dismay; and after voting, that they could not sit in the same place, until they had obtained satisfaction for the unparalleled breach of privilege committed by the king, and had a guard appointed for their security, they adjourned for some days. In the mean time a committee was ordered to sit in the metropolis, and inquire into every circumstance attending the king's entry into the house of commons; from all which was inferred an intention of offering violence to the parliament, by seising, even in that house, his supposed adversaries, and murdering all who should make resistance. They met again, confirmed the votes of the committee, and hastily adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent danger. This practice they frequently repeated; and when, by these affected panics, they had filled the minds of the people with the most dreadful apprehensions, and inflamed them with enthusiastic rage against the court, the accused members were conducted by the city militia, in a kind of military triumph, to Westminster, in order to resume their seats in the house; the populace, as they passed Whitehall, by land and water, frequently asking, with insulting shouts, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers[29]?"

Apprehensive of danger from the furious multitude, Charles had retired to Hampton-court, where, overwhelmed with grief and shame for his misconduct, he had leisure to reflect on the fatal measures into which he had

27 Clarendon, vol. ii. 28 Rushworth, vol. v.
29 Whitelocke.—Dugdale.

been hurried. He saw himself involved in a situation the most distressing, entirely by his own precipitancy and indiscretion; and how to extricate himself with honour he could not discover: his friends were discouraged, his enemies triumphant, and the people seemed ripe for rebellion. Without submission his ruin appeared to be inevitable: but to make submission to subjects, was what his kingly pride could not bear; yet to that humiliating expedient, which in his present circumstances seemed to be the most adviseable, he at last had recourse. In successive messages to the commons, he told them, that he would desist from his prosecution of the accused members; that he would grant them a pardon; that he would concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; that he would make reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain; and he declared that, for the future, he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life[30]. This was yielding too far; but the uneasy mind is naturally carried from one extreme to another, in attempting to repair its errors.

If the king's violence rendered him hateful, his unreserved submission made him contemptible to the commons. They thought he could now deny them nothing, and therefore refused to accept any concessions for the breach of privilege, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure. But Charles, whose honour as a gentleman was sacred and inviolable, had still sufficient spirit to reject with disdain a condition which would have rendered him for ever despicable, and unworthy of all friendship or confidence. He had already shown to the nation, had the nation not been blinded with fanaticism, that if he had violated the rights of parliament, which was still a question with many[31], he was willing to make every pos-

30 Dugdale, p. 84.—Rushworth, vol. v.

31 No maxim in law, it was said, is more established, or more generally allowed,

sible reparation, and yield any satisfaction not inconsistent with the integrity of his moral character.

The commons continued to declaim against the violation of parliamentary privileges, and to inflame the discontents of the people. For this purpose they had recourse to the old expedient of petitioning, so flattering to human pride!—as it affords the meanest member of the community an opportunity of instructing the highest, and of feeling his own consequence, in the right of offering such instructions. A petition from Buckinghamshire was presented to the house by six thousand men, who promised to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. One of the like nature was presented from the city of London; and petitions were delivered from many other places; even a petition from the apprentices was graciously received, and one from the porters was encouraged. The beggars, and even the women, were seised with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which they pressed their terrors of papists and prelates, rapes and massacres, and claimed a right equal to that of the men, in communicating their sense of the public danger, since Christ had died for them as well as for the other sex. The apprentices were loud in the praise of liberty, and bold in their threats against arbitrary power. The porters complained of the decay of trade, and desired that justice

than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; that it was never pretended by any one, that the hall where the parliament assembles is an inviolable sanctuary; that if the commons complained of the affront offered them by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence, the blame must lie entirely upon themselves, who had refused compliance with the king's message, when he peacefully demanded these members; that the sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and that his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had merited.—(Howel's *Inspection into the Carriage of the late Long Parliament*—Hume, chap. lv.) But, whatever might be urged in favour of the legality of Charles's attempt to seise the accused members, no one pretended to vindicate the prudence either of that or the accusation. To impeach the heads of a faction during the full tide of its power, was indeed attempting to fetter the waves.

might be done upon offenders, according to the atrocity of their crimes: and they added, "that if such remedies "were any longer suspended, they would be forced to "extremities not fit to be named." The beggars, as a remedy for public miseries, proposed, "that those noble "worthies of the house of peers, who concurred with the "happy votes of the commons, might separate themselves "from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body[32]." This language, which could not be misunderstood, was evidently dictated by the commons themselves.

While these inflammatory petitions were received with the warmest expressions of approbation, all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy were discountenanced, and those interested in them were imprisoned and prosecuted as delinquents. In a word, by the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, was swept away all opposition in both houses, and every rampart of royal authority was laid level with the ground. The king, as appeared from the votes on the remonstrance, had a strong party in the lower house; and in the house of peers he had a great majority, even after the bishops were chased away. But now, when the populace were ready to execute, on the least hint, the will of their leaders, it was not safe for any member to approach either house, who pretended to oppose the general torrent.

Thus possessed of an undisputed majority in both houses, the popular leaders, who well knew the importance of such a favourable moment, pursued their victory with vigour and dispatch. The bills sent up by the commons, and which had hitherto been rejected by the peers, were now passed, and presented for the royal sanction; namely, a bill empowering the parliament to impress men into the service, under pretence of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and the long-contested bill for depriving the bishops of the privilege of voting in the house of lords.

32 Clarendon, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. v.

The king's authority was reduced to so low an ebb, that a refusal would have been both hazardous and ineffectual; and the queen, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, prevailed on her husband speedily to pass those bills, in hopes of appeasing the rage of the multitude, until she could make her escape to Holland[33].

But these important concessions, like all the former, served only as a foundation for more important demands. Encouraged by the facility of the king's disposition, the commons regarded the smallest relaxation in their invasion of royal authority as highly impolitic at such a crisis. They were fully sensible, that the monarchical government would regain some part of its former dignity, as soon as the present storm should subside, in spite of all their recent limitations; yet that it would not be safe to attempt the entire abolition of an authority to which the nation had been so long accustomed, before they were in possession of the sword—which alone could guard their usurped power, or ensure their personal safety against the rising indignation of their insulted sovereign. To this point, therefore, they directed all their views. They conferred the government of Hull, where was a large magazine of arms, on sir John Hotham; they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament; and they obliged the king to displace sir John Byron, a man of unexceptionable character, and bestow the government of the Tower on sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could place confidence[34].

These were bold steps; but a bolder measure was deemed necessary by the commons, before they could accomplish the ruin of royal authority; and that was, the acquisition of the command of the militia, which would at once give them the whole power of the sword, there being at that time no regular troops in England, except

33 Clarendon, vol. ii. 34 Rushworth, vol. v.

those which the commons themselves had levied for suppressing the Irish rebellion. With this view they brought in a bill, by the express terms of which the lord-lieutenants of counties, or principal officers of the militia, who were all named in it, were to be accountable, not to the king, but to the parliament. Charles here ventured to put a stop to his concessions, though he durst not hazard a flat denial. He only requested, that the military authority should be allowed to remain in the crown: and, if that should be admitted, he promised to bestow commissions, but revocable at pleasure, on the very persons named in the bill. But the commons, whose object was nothing less than sovereignty, imperiously replied, that the danger and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and, unless the king should speedily comply with their demands, a regard for the safety of prince and people would urgently require a disposal of the militia by the authority of both houses.

But what was more extraordinary than all this, while the commons thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence in London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy. "I am so "much amazed at this message," said Charles, in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You "speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your "hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise "be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and if so, I "assure you that this message has nothing lessened them. "As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave "that answer, and am so much assured, that the answer "is agreeable to what, in justice or reason, you can ask, "or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. "For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and "honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from "Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not. What "would you have? Have I denied to pass any bill for

"the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask "what ye have done for me. Have any of my people "been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer "as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. "All this considered, there is a judgement of Heaven "upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God "so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist "those laws for my preservation[35]."

The firmness of this reply surprised the commons, but did not discourage them from prosecuting their ambitious aim. They had gone too far to retract: they therefore voted, that those who advised his majesty's answer were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; that this denial was of such dangerous consequence, that, if his majesty should persist in it, it would hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some speedy remedy should be applied by the wisdom and authority of parliament; and that such of the subjects as had put themselves in a posture of defence, against the common danger, had done nothing but what was justifiable, and approved by the house. And, in order to induce the people to second these usurpations, by arming themselves more generally, extraordinary panics were spread throughout the nation, by rumours of intended massacres and invasions.

Alarmed at those threatening appearances, and not without apprehensions that force might be employed to extort his assent to the militia bill, the king thought it prudent to remove to a greater distance from London. Accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he retired beyond the Humber, and made the city of York, for a time, the seat of his court. The queen

35 Rushworth, vol. v.

had already taken refuge in Holland. There she resided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to William II. prince of Orange.

In the northern parts of his kingdom, where the church and monarchy were still respected, Charles found himself of more consequence than in the capital or its neighbourhood, where the fury of fanaticism predominated. The marks of attachment shown him at York exceeded his fondest expectations. The principal nobility and gentry, from all quarters of England, either personally or by letters, expressed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to save them from that democratical tyranny with which they were menaced.

Finding himself supported by so considerable a body of his subjects, the king began to assume a firmer tone, and to retort with spirit the accusations of the commons. As he persisted in refusing the militia-bill, they had framed an ordinance, in which, by the sole authority of the two houses of parliament, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this violent procedure; and declared, that, as he had formed a resolution strictly to observe the laws himself, he was determined that every one should yield a like obedience. The commons, on their part, were neither destitute of vigour nor of address. In order to cover their usurped authority with a kind of veil, and to confound in the minds of the people the ideas of duty and allegiance, they, in all their commands, bound the persons to whom they were directed, to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament[36]. Thus, by an unusual distinction between the office and the person of the king, they employed the royal name to the subversion of royal authority!

The chief object of both parties being the acquisition of

36 Rushworth, vol. v.

the favour of the people, each was desirous to throw on the other the odium of involving the nation in civil discord. With this view, a variety of memorials, remonstrances, and declarations, were dispersed. In the war of the pen, the royalists were supposed to have greatly the advantage. The king's memorials were chiefly composed by himself and lord Falkland, who had accepted the office of secretary of state, and whose virtues and talents were of the most amiable and exalted kind. In these papers Charles endeavoured to clear up the principles of the constitution; to mark the boundaries of the powers intrusted by law to the several orders in the state; to show what great improvements the whole political system had received from his late concessions; to demonstrate his entire confidence in his people; and to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made to that confidence and those concessions. The parliament, on the other hand, exaggerated all his unpopular measures; and attempted to prove, that their whole proceedings were necessary for the preservation of religion and liberty[37].

But, whatever advantage either side might gain by these writings, both were sensible that the sword must ultimately decide the dispute: and they began to prepare accordingly. The troops which had been raised under pretence of the Irish rebellion were now openly enlisted by the parliament for its own purposes, and the command of them given to the earl of Essex. Nor were new levies neglected. No less than four thousand men are said to have been enlisted in London in one day[38]. And the parliament having issued orders that loans of money and plate might be furnished, for maintaining their forces, such vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers, that they could hardly find room to stow it. Even the women gave up their ornaments, to support the cause of the godly against the malignants[39].

37 Rushworth, vol. v. 38 Vicar's *God in the Mount.*
39 Whitelocke.—Dugdale.

Very different was the king's situation. His preparations were far from being so forward as those of the parliament. To recover the confidence of his people, and remove all jealousy of violent counsels, he had resolved that the usurpations and illegal pretensions of the commons should be evident to the whole world. This he considered as of more importance to his interest than the collecting of magazines or the assembling of armies. But had he even been otherwise disposed, he would have found many difficulties to encounter; for although he was attended by a splendid train of nobility, and by a numerous body of gentlemen of great landed property, supplies could not be raised without a connexion with the monied men, who were chiefly attached to the parliament, which had seised his revenues since the beginning of the contest concerning the militia bill. Yet was he not altogether unprepared. The queen, by disposing of the crown jewels, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition in Holland. Part of these had arrived safe; and Charles, finding that the urgent necessities of his situation would no longer admit of delay, prepared himself for defence, and roused his adherents to arms, with a spirit, activity, and address, that alike surprised his friends and his enemies. The resources of his genius on this as on all other occasions seemed to increase in proportion to the obstacles that arose. He never appeared so great as when plunged in distress or surrounded with perils.

The commons, however, conscious of their superiority in force, and determined to take advantage of it, yet desirous to preserve the appearance of a pacific disposition, proposed conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement, but to which they knew the king would not submit. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical government, and would have involved in ruin the whole royal party. They required, that no man should remain

in the privy council who had not the approbation of parliament; that no deed of the sovereign should have validity, unless it should be sanctioned by the majority of the council; that all the principal officers of state and chief judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices during life; that none of the royal family should marry without the same consent; that the laws should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should take place, according to the advice of the two houses; that the late ordinance with regard to the military force should be submitted to; that the justice of parliament should pass upon all delinquents, a general pardon be granted for all past offences (with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament), the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament, and no peers be made but with the concurrence of both houses[40].

"Should I grant these demands," said Charles, in his animated reply, "you may wait on me bareheaded; I "may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be "continued to me; and *the King's Authority, signified* "*by both Houses*, may still be the style of your commands: "I may have swords and maces carried before me, and "please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre "(though even these twigs would not long flourish, when "the stock upon which they grew should be dead); but, "as to true and real power, I should remain but the out-"side, but the picture, but the sign of a king[41]." He accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms; war, at any disadvantage, being esteemed preferable, by himself and all his counsellors, to so ignominious a peace.

Aug 22. Collecting therefore some forces, and advancing southward, he erected the royal standard at Nottingham.

40 Rushworth, vol. v.—May, book ii. 41 Id. ibid.

This being considered as the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom, the abettors of the adverse parties began now more distinctly to separate themselves: and when two names so sacred in the English constitution, as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition to each other, it is no wonder that the people were divided in their choice, and agitated with the most violent animosities!

The greater part of the nobility, and the gentlemen of ancient families, fearing a total confusion of ranks from the fury of the populace, attached themselves to the throne, from which they derived their lustre, and to which it was again communicated. Proud of their birth, of their consequence in the state, and of the loyalty and virtue of their ancestors, they zealously adhered to the cause of their sovereign; which was also supported by most men of a liberal education, or a liberal way of thinking, and by all who wished well to the church and monarchy. On the other hand, as the veneration for the commons was extreme throughout the kingdom, and the aversion to the hierarchy general, the city of London, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with ardour those principles of freedom, on which that assembly had originally founded its pretensions, and under colour of maintaining which it had taken up arms. Beside these corporations, many families that had lately been enriched by commerce, seeing with envious eyes superior homage paid to the nobility and elder gentry, eagerly undertook the exaltation of a power, under whose dominion they hoped to acquire rank and distinction[42].

Thus determined in their choice, both parties, putting a close to argument, referred the justice of their cause to the decision of the sword.

42 Clarendon, vol. iii.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

LETTER VI.

Account of the Progress of the War between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians, to the Battle of Naseby, in 1645.

NO contest ever seemed more unequal, my dear Philip, than that between Charles and his parliament, when the sword was first drawn. Almost every advantage was on the side of the latter. The parliamentarians being in possession of the legal means of supply, and of all the sea-ports except Newcastle, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable sum; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised by the cities, which possessed the ready money, and were also chiefly in their hands, than they could be by the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the king. The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the ports to which they belonged; and the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, having engaged in the cause of the commons, had named, at their desire, the earl of Warwick as his lieutenant. Warwick at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of the demagogues. They were likewise in possession of all the magazines of arms and ammunition in the kingdom, and had intercepted part of the stores which the queen had purchased in Holland.

A.D. 1642.

The king's only hope of counterbalancing so many advantages on the part of his adversaries, arose from the supposed superiority of his adherents in mental and personal qualities. More courage and enterprise were expected from the generous and lofty spirit of the ancient nobility and gentry than from the base-born vulgar. Nor was it doubted that their tenants, whom they levied and armed at their own expense, would greatly surpass in valour and force the sedentary and enervated inhabitants of cities. But, in making this comparison, the mysterious

and elevating influence of the double enthusiasm of religion and liberty was forgotten—a kind of holy fury, arising from apprehensions of danger, and a confidence in supernatural aid, which, accompanied with supposed illuminations, inspires the daring fanatic with the most romantic bravery, and enables him to perform such acts of prowess as transcend the common standard of humanity, confirm him in his belief of divine assistance, impel him to future exertions, and render his valour irresistible, when directed against those whom he regards as the enemies of God and of his country.

With the power of this enthusiastic energy, in animating the most groveling minds, Charles had unhappily too much reason to become acquainted, during his struggle for dominion, and to learn, from fatal experience in many a hard-fought field, that it was not inferior in efficacy even to the courage connected with greatness of soul or infused by nobility of birth. At present he had a contemptible idea of his parliamentary foes, considered as individuals; but their numbers, their resources, and their military preparations, were sufficient to fill him with the most awful apprehensions. He declared, however, against all advances toward an accommodation. "I have nothing left "but my honour," said he; "and this last possession I "am firmly resolved to preserve, and rather to perish "than yield any farther to the pretensions of my ene-"mies[1]." But he was induced, by the earnest solicitations of his friends, to relax in his purpose; and, in order to gain time, as well as to manifest a pacific disposition, to send ambassadors to the parliament with offers of treaty, before he began hostilities.

The conduct of the parliament justified Charles's opinion. Both houses replied, "that they could not treat with the "king until he should take down his standard, and recall "his proclamations," in which the members supposed themselves to be declared traitors; and when, by a second

1 Clarendon, vol. iii.

message, he offered to recall those proclamations, they desired him to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up the delinquents to justice[2]; or, in other words, to abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies.

Hoping that the people were now fully convinced of the insolence of the parliament, and its repugnance to peace, the king made vigorous preparations for war. Aware, however, that he was not yet able to oppose the parliamentary army, he left Nottingham, and retired, by slow marches, first to Derby, and afterward to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in that neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and made the following declaration before the whole army: "I do promise, in the presence of Almighty "God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that "I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain "the true reformed Protestant religion, established in the "church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the "same will live and die. I desire that the laws may ever "be the measure of my government, and that the liberty "and property of the subject may be preserved by them "with the same care as my own just right; and if it please "God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my neces-"sary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, "I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, "to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parlia-"ment, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by "the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and, "particularly, to observe inviolably the laws to which I "have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if "this emergency, and the great necessity to which I am "driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be im-"puted, by God and man, to the authors of this war; "not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve "the peace of the kingdom[3]."

This declaration, which was considered as a sacred en-

2 Rushworth, vol. v. 3 Clarendon, vol. iii.

gagement on the part of the king, was received with the warmest expressions of approbation and gratitude, by the generous train of nobility and gentry by whom he was attended; and who, in the hope of his submitting to a legal and limited government, had alone been induced to take the field, with a resolution of sacrificing their lives and fortunes in his defence. They were in general no less animated with the spirit of liberty than of loyalty, and held in contempt the high monarchical principles.

Charles was received at Shrewsbury with marks of duty and affection; and before he left that town, he found himself at the head of ten thousand men. With these he resolved to give battle immediately to the army of the parliament, as he heard that it was daily augmented with recruits from London. The two armies met on Edgehill, near Keinton in Warwickshire. The earl of Lindsay was general of the royal forces: prince Rupert, son of the unfortunate elector Palatine, commanded the horse; sir Jacob Astley the foot; sir Arthur Aston the dragoons; sir John Heydon the artillery; and lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards, whose estates, according to the computation of lord Clarendon, were equal in value to those of all the members who, at the commencement of hostilities, voted against the king in both houses of parliament. The earl of Essex drew up his army with judgement; but, in consequence of the desertion of a troop of horse, under sir Faithful Fortescue, and a furious charge from prince Rupert, his whole left wing of cavalry soon gave way. Nor did better fortune attend the right wing, which was also broken and put to flight. The victory would now have completely devolved to the royalists, had not the king's body of reserve, commanded by sir John Byron, heedlessly joined in the pursuit. The advantage afforded by this imprudence being perceived by sir William Balfour, who commanded the parliamentarian reserve, he immediately wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now unsupported by horse, and made

Oct. 23.

great havoc among them. The earl of Lindsay was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his son, lord Willoughby, in endeavouring to rescue him, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edward Verney, who carried the royal ensign, was killed; the standard was taken, and the king himself was in danger. The standard was afterwards recovered by the valour of captain John Smith; but the situation of affairs was not changed. Every thing, on the return of Rupert from the pursuit, wore the aspect of a defeat rather than of a complete victory, which he thought had been gained. His troops were too much fatigued to renew the charge, and the enemy did not provoke him to it, though both parties faced each other for some time. All night they lay on their arms, and drew off in the morning by a kind of mutual consent, neither side having spirit for a fresh action. About three thousand men were found dead on the field; and the loss of the two armies, from comparing opposite accounts, appears to have been nearly equal. The troops of both parties suffered much by cold during the night after the engagement[4].

Though this first battle was so indecisive, that the parliament claimed the victory as well as the king, it was of considerable service to the royal cause. Charles immediately reduced Banbury, and afterward advanced to Reading, the governor and garrison of which, on the approach of a detachment of royalists, had fled with precipitation to London. The capital was struck with terror, and the parliament voted an address for a treaty; but, as no cessation of hostilities had been agreed on, the king continued to advance, and took possession of Brentford. By this time Essex had reached London; and the declining season put a stop to farther operations[5].

During the winter, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, but in seeming advances towards peace. Oxford, where the king
A. D. 1643.
resided, was chosen as the place of treaty. Thi-

4 May, book iii.—Clarendon, vol. iii. 5 Whitelocke, p. 60.

ther the parliament sent its requisitions by the earl of Northumberland and four members of the lower house, who acted as commissioners. They abated somewhat of those extravagant demands they had formerly made; but their claims were still too high to admit of an amicable accommodation, unless the king had been willing to renounce the most essential branches of his prerogative. Besides other humiliating articles, they required him, in express terms, to abolish episcopacy: a demand which before they had only insinuated. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful servants: and they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword[6]. The negotiation, as may be naturally supposed, served only for a time to amuse both parties.

Meanwhile each county was divided within itself, as were also each town and almost each family; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Continual efforts were made by both parties, after the ordinary season of action was over. The earl of Newcastle, who commanded for the king in Yorkshire, gained several advantages over the parliamentary forces, and established the royal authority in the northern counties. About the same time, sir William Waller, who began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament, defeated lord Herbert near Glocester, and took the city of Hereford. On the other side, sir Ralph Hopton made himself master of Launceston, and reduced all Cornwall to peace and obedience under the king[7].

In the spring Reading was besieged, and taken by the earl of Essex. Being joined soon after by the forces under sir William Waller, the earl marched towards Oxford, with a view of attacking the king, who was supposed to be in great distress for want of ammunition. But Charles, informed of his design, and of the loose disposition of his

6 Clarendon, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi. 7 Clarendon, vol. iii.

forces, dispatched prince Rupert with a party of horse to annoy them; and that gallant leader, who was perfectly fitted for such a service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages almost to the general's quarters at Thame. Essex took the alarm, and dispatched part of his cavalry in pursuit of the prince. They were joined by a regiment of infantry, under the famous John Hampden, who had acted as colonel from the beginning of the civil war, and distinguished himself no less in the field than in the senate. In Chalgrave field they overtook the royalists, who were loaded with booty. The prince wheeled about, however, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were obliged to save themselves by flight, after having lost some of their best officers; and, among the rest, the much-valued and much-dreaded Hampden, who was mortally wounded, and died soon after in great agonies[8]. He is said to have received his wound by the bursting of one of his own pistols.

The royal cause was supported with equal spirit in the western counties. The king's adherents in Cornwall, notwithstanding their early successes, had been obliged to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire. This neutrality lasted during the winter, but was broken in the spring, by the authority of the parliament; and the earl of Stamford having assembled an army of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, ammunition, and provisions, entered Cornwall, and advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and were oppressed by every kind of necessity. He encamped on the top of a hill, near Stratton, and detached sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horse, to surprise Bodmin. The Cornish royalists, commanded by the principal men of the county, seised this opportunity of extricating themselves, by one vigorous

8 Warwick's Memoirs.

effort, from all the dangers and difficulties with which they were surrounded. They boldly advanced up the hill on which Stamford was encamped, in four different divisions; and after an obstinate struggle, still pressing onward, all met upon the plain at the top, where they embraced with great joy, and signalised their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations [9]. May 16.

The king now sent the marquis of Hertford, and prince Maurice, brother to prince Rupert, with a reinforcement of cavalry into Cornwall. Being joined by the Cornish army, they soon over-ran the county of Devon, and advancing into Somersetshire, began to reduce it also to obedience. In the mean time, the parliament having supplied sir William Waller, in whom they had great confidence, with a complete army, dispatched him into the same county, to check the progress of the royalists, and retrieve their affairs in that quarter. After some skirmishes, in which the royalists had the advantage, the two armies met at Lansdown-hill, which Waller had fortified. There a pitched battle was fought, with great loss on both sides, and without any decisive advantage; July 5. for although the king's troops, after a fierce engagement, gained the summit of the hill, and beat the enemy from their ground, the fugitives took refuge behind a stone wall, where they maintained their post till night, and then retired to Bath, under cover of the darkness [10].

Hertford and Maurice, disappointed of the success they had promised themselves, attempted to march eastward, and join the king at Oxford. But Waller hung on their rear, and harassed their army until they reached the Devises. There, being considerably reinforced, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer

9 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

10 Id. ibid. This battle would have been more favourable to the royalists, had not Waller been reinforced with 500 cavalry from London, completely covered with cuirasses, and other defensive armour. These cuirassiers were generally found to be irresistible.

continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of a battle. It was therefore resolved, that the marquis and the prince should proceed with the cavalry, and, procuring a reinforcement from the royal army, should hasten back to the relief of their friends.

Waller was now so confident of success, that he thought only of the number and quality of the prisoners whom he should take. But the king, even before the arrival of Hertford and Maurice, informed of the difficulties to which his western troops were reduced, had dispatched a body of cavalry to their relief, under lord Wilmot. To prevent the intended junction, Waller drew up his army on Roundway-down; and Wilmot, in hopes of being supported by the infantry at the Devises, did not decline the combat. Waller's cavalry, after a smart action, were totally routed, and he himself fled with a few horse to Bristol; while the victorious Wilmot, joined by the Cornish infantry, attacked the enemy's foot with great impetuosity, and slew or captured almost the whole body [11].

July 13.

This important victory, preceded by so many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their grand army, still commanded by the earl of Essex. Farther discouraged by hearing that the queen had landed in Yorkshire, with ammunition and artillery, and had brought to the king from the North a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, Essex left Thame and Aylesbury, where he had for some time remained, and retired to the neighbourhood of London. Freed from this principal enemy, the king sent his main army westward, under prince Rupert; and, by the junction of that army with the Cornish royalists, a formidable force was composed; a force respectable from numbers, but still more from valour and reputation.

In hopes of profiting by the consternation into which

11 Clarendon, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi.

Waller's defeat and the retreat of Essex had thrown the parliamentary party, prince Rupert resolved to undertake an enterprise worthy of the army with which he was intrusted. He accordingly advanced toward Bristol, the second city in the kingdom for riches and magnitude. The place was in a good posture of defence, and had a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, well supplied with ammunition and provisions; but, as the fortifications were found to be not perfectly regular, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed by assault, though little provision had been made for such an operation. The Cornish-men, in three divisions, attacked the west side with a courage which nothing could repress, or for a time resist; but so great was the disadvantage of ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that although the middle division had already mounted the walls in spite of all opposition, the assailants were in the end repulsed with considerable slaughter, and with the loss of many gallant officers. On the east side, where the approach was less difficult, prince Rupert had better success. After an obstinate struggle, a lodgement was made within the enemy's works; and Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor (son of lord Say, one of the parliamentary leaders), surrendered the place by capitulation. He and his garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without their colours[12]. July 26.

The reduction of Bristol was a severe blow to the power of the parliament; and if the king, who soon after appeared in the camp, had boldly marched to London, before the fears of the people had time to subside, as he was advised by the more daring spirits, the war might in all probability have been finished equally to his honour and advantage. But this undertaking was judged too hazardous, on account of the number and force of the London militia; and Glocester seemed to present to Charles an easier, and yet an important acquisition. It would put

12 Clarendon, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi.

the whole course of the Severn under his command, open a communication between Wales and the western counties, and contribute to free one half of the kingdom from the dominion of the enemy [13].

These were the king's reasons for undertaking the siege of Glocester in preference to any other enterprise. Before he left Bristol, however, he sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire: and, in order to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, or provoked to aspire at a total victory over the parliament, he published a manifesto, in which he renewed the solemn protestation he had formerly made at the head of his army, and expressed his earnest desire of making peace, as soon as the constitution should be re-established [14].

Before this manifesto was issued, a bold attempt had been made to restore peace to the kingdom, by the celebrated Edmund Waller, so well known as a poet, and who was no less distinguished as an orator. He still continued to attend his duty in parliament, and had exerted all his eloquence in opposing those violent counsels by which the commons were governed; and, in order to catch the attention of the house, he had often, in his harangues, employed the keenest satire and invective. But, finding all opposition within doors fruitless, he conceived the idea of forming a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept reasonable conditions. Having sounded the earl of Northumberland, and other eminent persons, whose confidence he enjoyed, he was encouraged to open his scheme to Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and to Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins. By these gentlemen, whose connexions lay chiefly in the city, he was informed that an abhorrence of the war there prevailed among all men of sense and moderation. It therefore seemed not impracticable, that a combination might be formed between the peers and citizens, to refuse pay-

13 May, book iii.—Whitelocke, p. 69.

14 Whitelocke.—May.

ment of the illegal and oppressive taxes imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. But, while this scheme was in agitation, it was disclosed to Pym by a servant who had overheard the conversation of the projectors. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately seised, tried by a court-martial, and condemned. Tomkins and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors; but Waller saved his life by counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, bribing the puritanical clergy, and paying a fine of ten thousand pounds[15].

The discovery of this project, and the severity exercised against the persons concerned in it, could not fail to increase the authority of the parliament; yet so great was the consternation occasioned by the progress of the king's arms, the taking of Bristol, and the siege of Glocester, that the cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. A multitude of women, with a petition for this purpose, crowded about the house of commons, and were so clamorous, that orders were given for dispersing them; and a troop of horse being employed in that service, several of the women were killed or wounded. Many of the popular noblemen had deserted the parliament, and gone to Oxford. The earl of Northumberland retired to his country seat; and Essex himself, extremely dissatisfied, exhorted the parliament to think of peace. The house of lords sent down terms of accommodation, more moderate than any that had hitherto been offered: a vote was even passed, by a majority of the commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. But this pleasing prospect was soon darkened. The zealous republicans took the alarm: a petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented to the parliament by Pennington, the factious lord-mayor. The pulpits thundered their anathemas against malignants; rumours of popish conspiracies were spread; and the majority being

15 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

again turned towards the violent side, all thoughts of pacification were banished, and every preparation made for war, and for the immediate relief of Glocester [16].

That city was defended by a numerous garrison, and by a multitude of fanatical inhabitants, zealous for the crown of martyrdom. Massey, the governor, was a soldier of fortune, and by his courage and ability had much retarded the advances of the king's army. Though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit which prevailed among the soldiers and citizens. By continued sallies, he molested the royalists in their trenches; he gained sudden advantages over them; and he repressed their ardour, by disputing every inch of ground. The garrison, however, was reduced to extremity, when Essex, advancing to its relief with a well-appointed army of fourteen thousand men, obliged the king to raise the siege, and threw into the city a supply of ammunition and provisions [17].

Chagrined at the miscarriage of his favourite enterprise, and determined to intercept Essex in his return, the king, by hasty marches, took possession of Newbury before the arrival of the parliamentary army. An action was now unavoidable; and the earl, aware of his inferiority in cavalry, drew up his forces on an eminence near the town. The battle was begun by the royalists, and both parties fought with alertness and courage. The cavalry of the parliamentary general were several times broken by those of the king; but his infantry maintained their ground; and, beside keeping up a constant fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against all the furious shocks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentlemen of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. Night at last put an end to the combat, and left the victory undecided. The next morning Essex pursued his march; and although his rear was severely harassed by prince Rupert, he reached London without losing

Sept. 20.

16 Rushworth, vol. vi. 17 Clarendon, vol. iii.

either his cannon or baggage. The king followed him; and, taking possession of Reading, there established a garrison, to be a kind of curb upon the capital [18].

Though the king's loss, in this battle, was not very considerable with respect to numbers, his cause suffered greatly by the death of some gallant noblemen. Beside the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, who had served their royal master with courage and ability in the field, fell Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, no less eminent in the cabinet; the object of universal admiration while living, and of regret when dead. Devoted to the pursuits of learning, and fond of polite society, he had abstracted himself from politics till the assembling of the present parliament; when, deeming it criminal longer to remain inactive, he stood foremost in all attacks upon the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed, with a bold freedom, that warm love of liberty and masculine eloquence, which he had imbibed from the sublime writers of antiquity. But no sooner did he perceive the purpose of the popular leaders, than, tempering the ardour of his zeal, he attached himself to his sovereign; and convinced that regal authority was already sufficiently reduced, he embraced the defence of the limited powers that remained to it, and which he thought necessary to the support of the English constitution. Still anxious for the liberties of his country, he seems to have dreaded the decisive success even of the royal party; and the word PEACE was often heard to break from his lips, accompanied with a sigh. Though naturally of a gay and cheerful disposition, he became, from the commencement of the civil war, silent and melancholy, neglecting even a decent attention to his person; but on the morning of the battle of Newbury, as if he had foreseen his fate, he dressed himself with neatness and elegance, that the enemy, as he said, might not find his body in a *slovenly condition*. "I am weary of the times," added

18 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

he, "and foresee much misery to my country; but believe "I shall be out of it before night [19]!"

The shock which both armies had received in this action discouraged them from a second trial of strength before the close of the campaign; and they soon retired into winter-quarters. There we must leave them for a time, and take a view of the progress of the war in other parts of the kingdom, and of the measures pursued by each party for acquiring a superiority.

In the northern counties, during the summer, the marquis of Newcastle, by his extensive influence, had raised a considerable force for the king; and high hopes were entertained of success from the known loyalty and abilities of that nobleman. But in opposition to him appeared two men, on whom the fortune of the war was finally to depend, and who began about this time to be distinguished by their valour and military talents; namely, sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. The former, son of lord Fairfax, put to flight a party of royalists at Wakefield, and the latter obtained a victory over another party at Gainsborough. But the total rout of lord Fairfax, at Atherton, more than balanced both those defeats; and the marquis, with about fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull, into which the elder Fairfax had thrown himself with the remnant of his broken force [20].

After having carried on the attack of Hull for some time without effect, the marquis was repelled by an unexpected sally of the garrison, and suffered so much in the action, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, the earl of Manchester, having formed a

19 Whitelocke, p. 70.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

20 Lord Fairfax was appointed governor of this place in the room of sir John Hotham, who, repenting of his engagements with the parliamentary party, had entered with his son into a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, and expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands for the king. Their purpose being discovered, the two Hothams were arrested, and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell victims to the severity of the parliament. Rushworth, vol. vi.

junction with Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable advantage over the royalists at Horn-Castle[21]. But, notwithstanding these misfortunes, the royal party still retained great interest in the northern counties; and had not Yorkshire been kept in awe by the garrison of Hull, a junction of the northern and southern armies might have been effected, and the king would perhaps have been enabled to terminate the war with the campaign.

The prospect was now very different. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the king's forces, during the early part of the summer, the English parliament had sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation.

The Scots, who, not satisfied with having accomplished the restoration of the presbyterian religion in their own country, still indulged an ardent passion for propagating that system in the neighbouring kingdom, declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England; and proposed, that the two nations should enter into a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. By the address of the younger sir Henry Vane, who took the lead among the English commissioners, was accordingly framed at Edinburgh a compact called the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

A copy of this covenant was transmitted to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, where it was received without opposition; and after being subscribed by the lords, the commons, and an assembly of divines, it was ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The subscribers, besides engaging to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, and defend his majesty's per-

21 Warwick.—Walker.

son and authority; to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation[22].

The Scots exulted in the thought of being the happy instruments of extending what they believed to be the only true religion, and of dissipating that profound darkness in which they supposed all other nations to be involved. The general assembly applauded the pious league, and every one was ordered by the convention of estates to swear to the covenant, under penalty of confiscation; besides what farther punishment it should please the parliament to inflict on the disobedient, as enemies of God, the king, and the kingdom! Inflamed with holy zeal, and determined that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, the Scottish covenanters now prepared themselves with vigour for military service. A hundred thousand pounds, remitted from England, enabled them to complete their levies; and, having added to their other forces a body of troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were soon ready to enter England with an army of twenty thousand men[23].

In order to secure himself against this gathering tempest, which he foresaw it would be impossible to dispel, the king turned his eye toward Ireland. The English parliament, to whose care the suppression of the Irish rebellion

22 Whitelocke, p. 73.—Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—The subscribers to the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of sir Henry Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with respect to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed according to the word of God, and the *example* of the *purest churches*. The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abolished, deemed these expressions quite free from ambiguity, considering their own mode of worship as the only one which corresponded in any degree to such a description. But Vane had other views. The able politician, even while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity as well as their fanaticism, had blindly devoted himself to more wild and dangerous opinions, which he hoped to diffuse and establish.

23 Clarendon, vol. iii.

was committed, had never taken any effectual measures for that purpose; yet the remaining Protestants, joined with some new adventurers, under sir William St. Leger, sir Frederick Hamilton, and other leaders, had in several encounters put the Catholics to flight, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels had been obliged to raise the siege of Drogheda, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. The marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, had obtained two victories over them, and had relieved the forts that were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But the Irish Catholics, in their wild rage against the British planters, having laid waste the whole cultivated part of the country, the victorious Protestants were in want of the most common necessaries of life; and, as the king had it not in his power to send them either money or provisions, he resolved to embrace an expedient which would enable them to provide for their own support, and at the same time contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. He gave orders to the lord-lieutenant and the chief justices, who were entirely in his interest, to conclude a truce for one year with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny, and afterwards to transport part of the Protestant army to Britain[24].

The parliament, ever ready to censure the king's measures, did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of reproaching him with favouring the Irish papists. They exclaimed loudly against the truce, affirming that England must justly dread the divine vengeance for tolerating antichristian idolatry, under pretence of civil contracts and political expediency[25]! The forces brought from Ireland, though the cause of so much odium, were of little service

24 Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi.—Some Irish Catholics came over with the Protestants, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed (Whitelocke, p. 78.); and the parliament voted that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given to them. But prince Rupert, by severe retaliation, soon put a stop to this inhumanity. Rushworth, vol. vi.

25 Id. ibid.

to the royal party. Being put under the command of lord Byron, they besieged and took some fortresses in North-Wales and in Cheshire; but a stop was soon put to their career. Elate with success, and entertaining the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces, they sat down before Nantwich in the depth of winter. This was the only place that now adhered to the parliament in Cheshire or its neighbourhood. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at the progress of the royalists in this quarter, assembled in Yorkshire an army of four thousand men; and, having joined sir William Brereton, suddenly attacked Byron's camp. The swelling of the river Wever by a thaw had divided one part of the royal army from the other, and a rout and dispersion of the whole ensued [26].

A. D. 1644.

Jan. 25.

The invasion from Scotland, in favour of the parliament, was attended with more momentous consequences. The Scottish army, under the command of the earl of Leven, having summoned the town of Newcastle without effect, passed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thousand men. The marquis did not decline the challenge; but before any action took place, he received intelligence of the return of sir Thomas Fairfax, with his victorious forces, from Cheshire. Afraid of being enclosed between two armies, he retreated to York; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they invested that city. The earl of Manchester arrived soon after with an accession of force; and York, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was so closely besieged by the combined armies, and reduced to such extremity, that the parliamentary generals flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy conquest.

So important a siege roused the spirit of prince Rupert. By exerting himself vigorously in Lancashire and Cheshire,

26 Rushworth, vol. vi.

he collected a considerable army, and hastened to the relief of York. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege on his approach, and drew up their forces on Marston-moor, where they proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert entered the town by another quarter, and safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle, by interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy. Having so successfully effected his purpose, the prince ought to have remained satisfied with his good fortune. The marquis was sensible of it, and endeavoured, by many arguments, to persuade him to decline a battle; especially as the Scottish and English armies were at variance, and would probably soon separate of their own accord, while a few days would bring him a reinforcement of ten thousand men.

That violent partisan, however, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, or softened by complaisance, treated this advice with contempt; and without deigning to consult the marquis, who had long been the chief prop of the royal cause in the North, he imperiously issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston-moor. The marquis refused to take any share in the command, but behaved gallantly as a volunteer. Fifty thousand British combatants were, on this occasion, led to mutual slaughter. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, and victory continued long undecided. At length lieutenant-general Cromwell, having broken the right wing of the royalists, led by prince Rupert, returned from the pursuit, and terminated a contest which before seemed doubtful. Sir Charles Lucas, who had commanded the left wing of the royalists, and who had put the right wing of the parliamentarian army to flight, being ignorant of the fortune of the day in other quarters, was surprised to see that he must renew, with this bold leader, the combat for victory. Nor was Cromwell a little disappointed to find,

July 2.

that the battle was yet to be gained. The second engagement was no less furious than the first. All the hostile passions that can inflame civil or religious discord were awakened in the breasts of the two parties; but, after the utmost efforts of courage by both, success turned wholly to the side of the parliament. The king's artillery and stores were taken, and his army pushed off the field[27].

The loss of this battle was, in itself, a severe blow to the royal cause, and its consequences were still more fatal than could have been expected. The marquis of Newcastle, enraged to find all his labours rendered abortive by one act of temerity, and disgusted at the prospect of renewing the desperate struggle, immediately left the kingdom in despair, and continued abroad till the Restoration[28]. Prince Rupert, with the utmost precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired to Lancashire, instead of throwing himself into York, and waiting his majesty's orders; so that Glenham, the lieutenant-governor, was in a few days obliged to surrender that city[29]. Lord Fairfax, fixing his residence in York, established his government over the neighbouring country; while the Scottish army marched northward, in order to join the earl of Calendar, and, having formed that junction, laid siege to Newcastle, which, after a siege of two months, was taken by assault[30].

27 Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. vi.—Whitelocke, p. 89.

28 This nobleman, who was considered as the ornament of the court, and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, by a high sense of honour and personal regard for his master, to take part in these military transactions. He disregarded the dangers of war; but its anxieties and fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence of temper. Liberal, polite, courteous, and humane, he brought a great accession of friends to the royal party. But, amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft arts of peace; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, stole him often from the rough occupations of martial service. Though he lived abroad in extreme indigence, he disdained, by submission or composition, to recognise the usurped authority of parliament, or to look up to it for relief, but saw with indifference the sequestration of his ample fortune. Clarendon, vol. v.—Hume, vol. vii.

29 Rushworth, vol. vi.

30 Whitelocke, p, 88.

The king's affairs in the South, though not less dangerous or critical, were conducted with greater ability and success. The parliament had made extraordinary exertions in that quarter. Two armies, of ten thousand men each, were completed with all possible speed, and the commanders received orders to march toward Oxford, and attempt by one enterprise to put an end to the war. Leaving a strong garrison in Oxford, the king passed with dexterity between the two armies, and marched toward Winchester. Essex gave orders to Waller to follow him, and watch his motions, while he himself marched to the West in quest of prince Maurice. But the king, eluding the vigilance of Waller, returned suddenly to Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched out in quest of his pursuer. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury. The Cherwell ran between them; and the king, in order to draw Waller from his advantageous post, decamped the next day, and marched toward Daventry. This movement had the desired effect. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to ford the river, while he himself passed the bridge with the main body, and fell upon the king's rear. He was repulsed, and pursued back to the bridge with considerable loss[31].

June 29.

The king thought he might now safely leave the remains of Waller's army behind him, and march westward against the earl of Essex, who carried all before him in that quarter. He accordingly followed the parliamentary general; who, convinced of his inferiority, retired into Cornwall, entreating the parliament to send an army to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton was dispatched for that purpose, but came too late. Cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, the earl's

31 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Ruthven, a Scottish officer, who had been created earl of Brentford, attended the king as general in these operations.

troops were reduced to the greatest extremity. The king pressed them on one side, prince Maurice on another, and sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex and some of his principal officers escaped in a boat to Plymouth; and Balfour, with the horse, having passed the king's out-posts in a thick fog, reached the parliamentary garrisons in safety; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, and ammunition[32].

By this surrender, which was no small cause of triumph to the royalists, the king supplied his wants for a time; and yet his enemies were not materially injured, as the troops were preserved. In order to conceal their disgrace, the commons voted thanks to Essex for his courage and conduct; and having armed his troops anew, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell, as well as Waller and Middleton, to join him, and offer battle to the king. Charles, having thrown succours into Donnington-castle (long besieged by the parliamentary forces) and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, had taken post at Newbury, the scene of a former conflict. There the generals of the parliament attacked him with great vigour; and the royalists, though they defended themselves with their wonted valour, were at last overpowered by numbers. Night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total defeat. The king now retreated to Wallingford, and afterward to Oxford; where, being joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with considerable bodies of cavalry, he ventured again to advance toward the enemy; but they did not choose to give him battle, though still greatly superior in force[33].

Oct. 27.

Disputes between the parliamentary generals, which were supposed to have disturbed their military operations, were now revived in London; and each being supported

32 Whitelocke, p. 98.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. vi.
33 Rushworth, vol. vii.

by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. The cause of these disputes will require explanation.

There had long prevailed among the puritans, or parliamentarian party, a secret distinction, which, though concealed for a time by the dread of the king's power, began to discover itself in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer, and at last broke forth in high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first sheltered themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now openly appeared as a distinct party, actuated by different views and pretensions. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, nor any interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns. Each congregation, according to its principles, voluntarily united by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church; and as the election of the congregation was alone sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character and office, to which no benefits were annexed, all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy. No ceremony, no institution, no imposition of hands, were thought requisite, as in every other church, to convey a right to holy orders; but the soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the infusions of the spirit, resigned themselves to an inward and superior direction, and were consecrated by a supposed intercourse and immediate communication with heaven[34].

Nor were the independents less distinguished from the presbyterians by their political than their religious principles. The presbyterians were only desirous of restrain-

34 Clem. Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.—Hume, vol. vii.—The independents were the first Christian sect which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principles of toleration. The reason assigned by Mr. Hume for this liberty of conscience is truly ingenious. The mind, says he, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others.

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ing within narrow limits the prerogatives of the crown, and of reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate; but the independents, more ardent in their pursuit of liberty, aimed at the abolition of the monarchical and even of the aristocratical branch of the English constitution. They had projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. Of course, they were determined enemies to all proposals for peace; rigidly adhering to the maxim, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. And by widely diffusing the apprehensions of vengeance, they engaged multitudes who differed from them in opinion, both with respect to religion and government, to oppose all terms of pacification with their offended prince[35].

Sir Henry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, were considered as the leaders of the independents. The earl of Northumberland, proud of his rank, regarded with horror their scheme, which would confound the nobility with the meanest of the people. The earl of Essex, who began to foresee the pernicious consequences of the war, adhered to the presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The earls of Warwick and Denbigh, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Waller, Holles, Massey, Whitelocke, Maynard, Glynne, and other eminent men, had embraced the same sentiments; so that a considerable majority in parliament, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party[36]. But the independents, first by cunning and deceit, and afterwards by violence, accomplished the ruin of their rivals, as well as of the royal cause.

Provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, the earl of Manchester had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but, as he was a man of humanity and sound principles, the view of the public calamities, and the prospect of a subversion of the monarchical government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote

35 Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

36 Hume, vol. vii.

peace on any safe and equitable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, of not having pushed to the utmost the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell accused him, in the house of commons, of wilfully neglecting, in the late campaign, an opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that Cromwell, on another occasion, in order to induce him to embrace a scheme to which he thought the parliament would not agree, warmly said, "My lord, if you will stick "firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of "an army which shall give law both to king and parlia-"ment[37]."—"This discourse," continued the earl, "made "the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieute-"nant-general to be a man of deep designs. And he has "even ventured to tell me, that it would never be well "with England till I should be Mr. Montague, and not a "lord or peer should remain in the realm[38]."

These violent dissensions brought matters to extremity between the two sects, and pushed the independents to the immediate execution of their designs. The command of the sword was their grand object; and this they craftily obtained, under pretence of new-modeling the army. The first intimation of such a measure, in conformity with the hypocritical policy of that age, was communicated from the pulpit on a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, appointed through the influence of the independents. The divisions in the parliament were ascribed, by the fanatical preachers, to the selfish ends pursued by the members; in whose hands, it was observed, were lodged all the considerable commands in the army, and all the lucrative offices in the civil administration. "It cannot be "expected," added these spiritual demagogues, "that "men, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will "ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to

A.D. 1645.

37 Clarendon, vol. v. 38 Id. ibid.

"a period, or the war to a successful issue." The independents in parliament caught the same tone, and represented the concurrence of so many godly men, in different congregations, in lamenting ONE evil, as the effect of the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. Such, in particular, was the language of sir Henry Vane; who, therefore, entreated the members, in vindication of their own honour, and in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private views, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage. Cromwell also acted his part to admiration. He declared that until there should be a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could prosper; for although the parliament, he added, had doubtless done wisely on the commencement of hostilities, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous military commands, in order to satisfy the nation that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people, affairs were now changed; and a change of measures, he affirmed, must take place, if they hoped to terminate the war to advantage[39].

On the other side, it was urged by the presbyterians, and particularly by Whitelocke, that the rank possessed by such as were members of either house of parliament prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain views distinct from those embraced by the persons that employed them; that no maxim in policy was more undisputed than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connexion between the civil and military power, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former; that the Greeks and Romans, the wisest politicians, and the most passionate lovers of liberty, had always intrusted to their senators the

39 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. v.

command of the armies of the state; and that only those men whose interests were involved with those of the public, and who possessed a vote in civil deliberations would sufficiently respect the authority of the parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them[40]. Notwithstanding these arguments, a committee was appointed to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments—a few offices excepted; and through the envy of some, the false modesty of others, and the republican and fanatical views of many, it at last received the sanction of parliament.

In consequence of this ordinance, the earls of Essex, Warwick, Manchester, and Denbigh, with Waller and others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of both houses. Cromwell, being a member, ought also to have been discarded; but this impartiality would have disappointed the views of those who had introduced the new ordinance. Care was therefore taken, when the other officers resigned their commissions, that he should be sent with a body of horse to relieve Taunton, then besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were dispatched for his immediate attendance in parliament. But sir Thomas Fairfax, the new general, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, desired leave to retain for a few days lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he wrote to the parliament, would be useful in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned: and he soon after begged, with much earnestness, that Oliver might be permitted to serve during the ensuing campaign[41].

Thus, my dear Philip, the independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the presbyterians; and bestowed the whole military authority, in

40 Whitelocke, p. 114, 115. 41 Clarendon, vol. v.—Whitelocke, p. 141.

appearance, upon Fairfax, but in reality upon Cromwell. Fairfax, eminent both for courage and humanity, sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct, would have formed one of the most shining characters of that age, had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but war, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when invested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate. Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinuation the general was entirely governed, though naturally imperious, knew how to employ, when necessary, the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. His vigorous capacity enabled him to form the deepest designs, and his enterprising spirit was not dismayed at the boldest undertakings[42].

During this contest for power, both parties had piously united in bringing to the block the venerable archbishop Laud, who, after a tedious imprisonment, was tried for high treason, as having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The same violence and the same illegality of an accumulative crime and constructive evidence, which had appeared in the case of Strafford, were employed against Laud: yet, after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the commons found so little probability of obtaining a judicial sentence against him, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away his life. "No one," said the aged primate, "can be more willing to send me "out of the world, than I am desirous to go." Only seven peers voted on this important question, the rest absenting themselves either from fear or shame[43].

This new example of the vindictive spirit of the commons promised little success to the negotiations for

42 Hume, vol. vii.

43 Warwick, p. 169.

peace, which were soon after set on foot at Uxbridge; where seventeen commissioners from the king met twelve parliamentary delegates and eleven Scottish deputies. It was agreed that the Scots and the parliamentary negotiators should state their demands with respect to three important articles; religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively examined and discussed, in conferences with the king's commissioners[44]. Jan. 30, 1645.

Besides the difficulties on the subject of religion, the article of the militia was an insuperable bar to all accommodation. The king's partisans had always maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the effectual measures taken in 1641 for the security of public liberty, were either feigned or groundless. Charles however offered, in order to cure their apprehensions, that the arms of the state should be intrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, and the other by the parliament. But the parliamentary deputies positively insisted on a grant of the absolute power of the sword, for at least seven years. This, they affirmed, was essential to their safety. The king's commissioners asked, whether there was any equity in securing only one party, and leaving the other, during the space of seven years, entirely at the mercy of its enemies? and whether, if unlimited authority should be allowed to the parliament for so long a term, it might not easily retain possession of the sword, as well as of every department of civil power and jurisdiction[45]? After the debate had been carried on to no purpose for twenty days, the commissioners separated, and returned to London and Oxford.

44 Dugdale, p. 758.—Whitelocke, p. 121.

45 Dugdale, p. 877.—The parliamentarians were no less unreasonable with regard to Ireland. They demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given up entirely to the parliament; and

While the king was thus endeavouring to bring about an accommodation with the English parliament by the most humiliating concessions, some events happened in Scotland that seemed to promise a more prosperous issue to his declining affairs. James Graham, marquis of Montrose, a man of a bold and generous spirit, filled with indignation to see the majority of two kingdoms conspire against their lawful and, in many respects, indulgent sovereign, undertook by his own credit, and that of a few friends, who had not yet forgotten their allegiance, to raise such commotions in Scotland as should oblige the covenanters to recall their forces. With a body of men from Ireland, amounting to about twelve hundred, and eight hundred Highlanders, indifferently armed, he defeated an army of six thousand covenanters, under lord Elcho, near Perth, and killed or wounded two thousand of them[46].

In consequence of this victory, by which he acquired arms and ammunition, Montrose was enabled to prosecute his enterprise, in defiance of the opposition of the covenanters. His daring soul delighted in perilous undertakings: he eluded every danger, and seised the most unexpected advantages. He retreated sixty miles in the face of a superior army without sustaining any loss: he took Dundee by assault, and defeated the marquis of Argyle at Inverlochy, after having gratified the Macdonalds with the pillage of that nobleman's country. The power of the Campbells being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, joined Montrose in more considerable bodies. By their assistance he successively defeated Baillie and Urry, two officers of reputation, sent from England to crush him, and who were confident of victory from the superiority of their

after the conquest of Ireland, that the nomination of the lord-lieutenant and of the judges, or, in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, should remain in their hands.

46 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Wishart, chap. v.

numbers, as well as from the discipline of their troops. He defeated Baillie a second time, with great slaughter, at Alford. And the terror of his name, and the admiration of his valour, being now great over all the north of Scotland, he summoned his friends and partisans, and prepared to march into the southern provinces, that he might restore the king's authority, and give a final blow to the power of the covenanters[47].

But, unhappily for Charles, before Montrose could prosecute his success so far as to oblige the covenanters to withdraw any part of their forces, events had taken place in England which rendered the royal cause almost desperate. In consequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers, in most regiments, assumed the spiritual as well as military command over their men. They supplied the place of chaplains; and during the intervals of action, occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, and pious exhortations. These wild effusions were mistaken by the soldiers, and perhaps even by those who uttered them, for divine illuminations; and gave new weight to the authority of the officers, and new energy to the valour of their troops. In marching to battle, they lifted up their souls to God in psalms and hymns, and made the whole field resound with spiritual as well as martial music[48]. The sense of present danger was lost in the prospect of eternal felicity; wounds were esteemed meritorious in so holy a cause, and death martyrdom. Every one seemed animated, not with the vain idea of conquest or the ambition of worldly greatness, but by the brighter hope of attaining in heaven an everlasting crown of glory.

The royalists, ignorant of the influence of this enthusiasm, in rousing the courage of their antagonists, treated it with contempt and ridicule. In the mean time, their

47 Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.—Wishart, chap. 10, 11.—Rushworth.

48 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell.*

own licentious conduct, if less ludicrous, was less consistent with the character of soldiers or of citizens. As formidable even to their friends as they were to their enemies, they in some places laid the country waste by their undistinguishing rapine. So mischievous were their practices, that many of the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy now wished for such success to the parliamentary forces as might put a stop to these oppressions: and the depredations committed in Scotland, by the Highlanders under Montrose, made the approach of the royal army the object of terror to both parties, over the whole island[49].

Under these disadvantages, it was impossible for the king much longer to continue the war: the very licentiousness of his own troops was sufficient to ruin his cause. On the opening of the campaign, however, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, he left Oxford with an army of fifteen thousand men, in the hope of striking some decisive blow. The new-modeled parliamentary army, under Fairfax and Cromwell, was posted at Windsor, and amounted to about twenty-two thousand men. Yet Charles, in spite of their vigilance, effected the relief of Chester, which had long been blockaded by sir William Brereton; and, in his return southward, he took Leicester by storm, after a furious assault, and gratified his soldiers with a valuable booty. Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into his hands[50].

Alarmed at this success, Fairfax, who had received orders from the parliament to besiege Oxford during the king's absence, immediately left that place, and marched

49 Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv.—This licentiousness was partly occasioned by the want of pay; but other causes conspired to carry it to its present degree of enormity. Prince Rupert, negligent of the interests of the people, and fond of the soldiery, had ever indulged the latter in unwarrantable liberties. Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and too many other commanders improved on the pernicious example.

50 Clarendon, vol. iv.

to Leicester, with an intention of giving battle to the royal army. Charles, in the mean time, was advancing toward Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was already in some forwardness; so that the two armies were within a few miles of each other, before they were aware of their danger. The king called a council of war; in which it was rashly resolved, through the influence of prince Rupert and the impatient spirit of the nobility and gentry, that Fairfax should be attacked without delay, though the royalists had the prospect of being soon reinforced with three thousand horse and two thousand foot, under experienced officers. They accordingly advanced upon the parliamentarians, who appeared in order of battle on a rising ground, near Naseby in the county of Northampton. June 14.

The king himself commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. The main body of the parliamentary army was conducted by Fairfax, seconded by Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. The prince began the charge with his usual impetuosity and success. Ireton's whole wing was routed and chased off the field, and himself wounded and taken prisoner. The king led on his main body with firmness; and displayed, in the action, all the conduct of an experienced general, and all the courage of a gallant soldier. The parliamentary infantry gave way, in spite of the utmost efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, and would have been totally routed, if the body of reserve had not been brought to their relief. Meanwhile Cromwell, having broken the left wing of the royalists under Langdale, and pursued it a little way, returned upon the king's infantry, and threw him into confusion. At length prince Rupert, who had imprudently wasted his time in a fruitless attempt to seise the enemy's artillery, joined the king with his cavalry, though too late to turn

the tide of battle. "One charge more," cried Charles, "and we recover the day!" But his troops, aware of the disadvantage under which they laboured, could by no means be prevailed on to renew the combat. He was obliged to quit the field: and although the parliament had eight hundred, and he only six hundred men slain, scarcely any victory could be more complete. About four thousand five hundred royalists were taken prisoners, among whom were three hundred officers; and all the king's baggage, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy[51].

LETTER VII.

Of the Affairs of England, from the Battle of Naseby to the Execution of Charles I. and the Subversion of the Monarchy in 1649.

AFTER the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs so rapidly declined in all quarters, that he ordered the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to retire beyond sea, and save at least one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. The prince retired to Jersey, and afterwards to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, when the earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the West. The king himself retreated first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, in hopes of raising a body of infantry in that loyal but exhausted country.

51 Whitelocke, p. 145, 146.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv. Among other spoils, the king's cabinet fell into the hands of the enemy. It contained copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterward wantonly published by the parliament, accompanied with malicious comments. They are written with delicacy and tenderness; and, at worst, only show that he was too fondly attached to a woman of wit and beauty, who had the misfortune to be a papist, and who had acquired a dangerous influence over him. She is certainly chargeable with some of his most unpopular and even arbitrary measures

In the mean time the parliamentary generals and the Scots made themselves masters of almost every place of importance in the kingdom, and every where routed and dispersed the royalists. Fairfax and Cromwell immediately retook Leicester; and having also reduced Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, they resolved, before they divided their forces, to besiege Bristol, into which prince Rupert had thrown himself, with an intention of defending to the utmost a place of so much consequence. Vast preparations were made for an enterprise, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of the governor, was expected to require the greatest exertions of valour and perseverance. But so precarious a quality, in most men, is military courage, that a poorer defence was not made by any town during the course of the war. Though prince Rupert had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to hold out four months if the garrison did not mutiny, he surrendered the place a few days after, on articles of capitulation, and at the first summons[1]. Sept. 10.

Charles, astonished at this unexpected event, which was scarcely less fatal to the royal cause than the battle of Naseby, and full of indignation at the manner in which so important a city had been given up at the very time he was collecting forces for its relief, instantly recalled all Rupert's commissions, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. After an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Chester, the king himself took refuge with the remains of his broken army in Oxford, where he continued during the winter[2].

Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their armies, after the surrender of Bristol, reduced to obedience all the west and middle counties of England; while the Scots took Carlisle, and other places of importance in the North. Lord Digby, in attempting to break into Scotland, and

1 Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv.
2 Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv.

join Montrose with twelve hundred horse, was defeated at Sherbourne, in Yorkshire, by colonel Copley; and to complete the king's misfortunes, news soon after arrived, that Montrose himself, the only remaining hope of the royal party, was at last routed.

That gallant nobleman, having descended into the low country, had defeated the whole force of the covenanters at Kilsyth, and left them no remains of an army in Scotland. Edinburgh opened its gates to him; and many of the nobility and gentry, who secretly favoured the royal cause, when they saw a force able to support them, declared openly for it. But Montrose, advancing still farther south, in hopes of being joined by lord Digby, was surprised, through the negligence of his scouts, at

Sept. 13.

Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, by a strong body of cavalry under David Leslie, who had been detached from the Scottish army in England, in order to check the career of this heroic leader; and, after a sharp conflict, in which he displayed the highest exertions of valour, the marquis was obliged to quit the field, and fly with his broken forces into the Highlands [3].

The covenanters used their victory with great rigour. Many of the prisoners were butchered in cold blood; and sir Robert Spotswood, and other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The clergy instigated the civil power to this severity, and even desired that more blood might be shed upon the scaffold. The pulpit thundered against all who did the work of the Lord imperfectly. "Thine eye shall not pity!" and "Thou shalt "not spare!" were maxims frequently inculcated after every execution [4].

3 Wishart, chap. 13.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—Montrose's army, when attacked by Leslie, was much reduced by the desertion of the Highlanders, who had returned home in great numbers, in order to secure the plunder they had acquired in the South, which they considered as inexhaustible wealth.

4 Burnet's *Hist.* vol. i.—See also Guthrie's *Memoirs.*—The presbyterians about this time, considering themselves as the chosen people of God, and regulating their conduct by the maxims of the Old Testament, seem to have departed totally from

The king's condition, during the winter, was truly deplorable. Harassed by discontented officers, who over-rated those services and sufferings which they now apprehended must for ever go unrewarded, and by generous friends whose misfortunes wrung his heart with sorrow; oppressed by past disasters, and apprehensive of future calamities, he was in no period of his unfortunate life more sincerely to be pitied. In vain did he attempt to negotiate with the parliamentarians: they would not deign to listen to him, but gave him to understand, that he must yield at discretion[5]. The only remaining body of his troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour, and which he had ordered to march toward Oxford under lord Astley, to reinforce the garrison of that city, received a total defeat from colonel Morgan, at Stow on the Would. "You have done your work," said Astley to the officers by whom he was taken prisoner: "and may now "go to play, unless you choose to fall out among your- "selves[6]." March 21, 1646.

Thus deprived of all hope of prevailing over the parliament, either by arms or treaty, the only prospect of better fortune that remained to the king was in the dissensions of his enemies. The civil and religious disputes between the presbyterians and independents agitated the whole kingdom. The presbyterian religion was now established in England in all its forms: and its followers, pleading the eternal obligations of the covenant to extirpate schism and heresy, menaced their opponents with the same rigid persecution under which they themselves had groaned while held in subjection by the hierarchy. But although Charles entertained some hopes of reaping

the spirit of the Gospel. Instead of forgiving their enemies, they had no bowels of compassion for those who differed from them in the slightest article of faith.

5 Clarendon, vol. iv.

6 Rushworth, vol. vii.—It was the same Astley who made the following short but emphatical prayer before he led on his men at the battle of Edge-hill: "O Lord, "thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget "me!" and then cried, "March on boys!"—Warwick, p. 229.

advantage from these divisions, he was much at a loss to determine with which side it would be most for his interest to take part. The presbyterians were, by their principles, less inimical to monarchy, but they were bent upon the extirpation of prelacy; whereas the independents, though resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government, as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, might be willing to allow the re-establishment of the hierarchy; and Charles was, at all times, willing to put episcopal jurisdiction in competition with regal authority.

But the approach of Fairfax toward Oxford put an end to these deliberations, and induced the king to embrace a measure that must ever be considered as imprudent. Afraid of falling into the hands of his insolent enemies, and of being led in triumph by them, he resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the Scots, without sufficiently reflecting that he must, by such a step, disgust his English subjects of all denominations, and that the Scottish covenanters were not only his declared enemies, but now acted as auxiliaries to the English parliament. He left Oxford, however, and retired to their camp before Newark. The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise at the appearance of Charles, though previously acquainted with his design; and while they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, and appointed him a guard under pretence of protecting him, they made him in reality a prisoner[7]. Their next step was to assure the English parliament, that they had entered into no treaty with the king, and that his arrival among them was altogether unexpected. Sensible, however, of the value of their prisoner, and alarmed at some motions of the English army, they thought proper to retire northward, and fixed their camp at Newcastle. This movement was highly agreeable to Charles,

May 5.

7 Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

who now began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of protection from the Scots. But he soon found cause to alter his opinion; and had, in the mean time, little reason to be pleased with his situation. All his friends were kept at a distance, and all correspondence with them was prohibited. And the covenanters, after insulting him from the pulpit, and engaging him, by deceitful or unavailing negotiations, to disarm his adherents in both kingdoms, agreed to deliver him up to the English parliament, on condition of the payment of their arrears, which were compounded at four hundred thousand pounds sterling[8]. The king was accordingly put into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners, and conducted under a guard to Holmby in Northamptonshire. Jan. 28, 1647.

The civil war was now over. The Scots returned to their own country, and every one submitted to the authority of the ruling powers. But the dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner was the king subdued, than the division between the presbyterians and independents became every day more evident; and as nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition, after the sacred boundaries of law had been violated, the independents, who, in consequence of the self-denying ordinance, had obtained the command of the army, solaced themselves with the prospect of a new revolution. Such a revolution as they desired was accomplished by the assistance of the military power, which precipitated the parliament from its slippery throne.

The manner in which this change was effected it must now be our business to examine, and to notice the most striking circumstances that accompanied it. The presby-

8 Rushworth, vol. vii.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. xv.—The infamy of this transaction had such an effect on the members of the Scottish parliament, that they voted the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and declared, that, as he had *refused* to *take* the *covenant*, which was pressed on him, it became not the *godly* to *concern* themselves about his future *welfare*. After this declaration, the parliament retracted its vote. Such influence had the presbyterian clergy in those days!

terians still retained the superiority among the commons, and all the peers, except lord Say, were esteemed of that party; but the independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army, and the troops on the new establishment were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. Aware of this, and knowing also that their antagonists trusted to the sword, in their projects for acquiring an ascendency, the presbyterian leaders, under pretence of diminishing the public burthens, obtained a vote for disbanding one part of the army, and for sending another part into Ireland, in order to subdue the rebels in that kingdom [9].

The soldiers had no great inclination to serve in the ravaged districts of Ireland; and still less did they wish to be disbanded. Most of the officers having risen from the lowest conditions, were alarmed at the thought of returning to their original poverty, at a time when they hoped to enjoy, in ease and tranquillity, that pay which they had earned through so many dangers and fatigues. They entered into mutinous combinations; and the two houses of parliament, under apprehensions for their own safety, inconsiderately sent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the secret authors of all these discontents, to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*.

This was the crisis for Cromwell to lay the foundation of his future greatness; and he did not fail to take advantage of it. By his suggestion, a measure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a kind of military parliament was formed; consisting, first, of a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the house of peers; and next, of a more free representation of the army, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *Agitators*, from each troop or company. This terrible consistory declared,

9 Rushworth, vol. vii.

that no *distempers* could be found in the army, but many *grievances*; and immediately voted the offers of the parliament unsatisfactory [10].

The two houses of parliament made another trial of their authority; they voted, that all the troops that did not engage to serve in Ireland should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. In answer to this vote, the council of the army, which was entirely governed by Cromwell, commanded a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And, at the same time that they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour. They sent a party of horse to Holmby, under cornet Joyce, a famous agitator; and this rough soldier, rudely entering the royal apartment, and pointing to his troopers when asked for his authority, conducted the astonished monarch to the rendezvous of the army [11]. June 4.

The parliamentary leaders, when informed of this event, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Nor was Fairfax, the general, who was totally ignorant of the enterprise of Joyce, a little surprised at the arrival of his sovereign. That bold measure had been solely concerted by Cromwell; who, by seising the king's person, and thus depriving the two houses of all means of accommodation with him, hoped to be able to dictate to them, in the name of the army, what conditions he thought proper. He accordingly engaged Fairfax to advance with the troops to St. Alban's, in order to overawe the deliberations of the parliament. This movement had the desired effect. A vote by which the military petitioners had been declared public enemies, was recalled; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect its purposes, entered into a negotiation with its masters, without advancing nearer to the capital [12].

10 Whitelocke, p. 250.—Rushworth, vol. vii.

11 Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. vii.

12 Id. Ibid.

In that negotiation, the advantages were greatly in favour of the army. They had not only the sword in their hand, but the parliament had now become the object of general odium, as much as ever it had been the idol of superstitious veneration. The self-denying ordinance, introduced only to serve a temporary purpose, was soon laid aside, by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in oppressing the helpless people. Though near one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered, the imposts were far higher than in any period of the English government. The excise, an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation, had been introduced; and it was now extended over provisions, and the common necessaries of life. But what excited general complaint was the tyranny of the provincial committees, which could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish without law or remedy[13]. They interposed even in questions of private property; and, under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. Thus, my dear Philip, instead of one star-chamber which had been abolished, a great number were erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority.

The parliamentary leaders, conscious of the decay of their popularity, were reduced to despair on the approach of the army; and the officers, no less sensible of it, were thereby encouraged in their usurpations on the parliament; in which they copied the model set them by the parliament itself, in its last usurpations upon the crown. They rose every day in their demands: one claim was no sooner yielded, than another, still more exorbitant and enormous, was presented. At first they pretended only to petition for what concerned them as soldiers; then, they must have a vindication of their character; soon afterward, it was necessary

13 Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. xv.

that their enemies should be punished; and, at last, they claimed a right of new-moulding the government, and of settling the nation[14]. They even proceeded so far as to name eleven members, the very leaders of the presbyterian party, whom they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army, and evil counsellors to the parliament: and they insisted, that these individuals should be immediately suspended from their public functions[15]. The commons replied, that they could not proceed so far upon a general charge. The army adduced, as precedents, the cases of Strafford and Laud; and the obnoxious members themselves, not willing to be the occasion of discord, begged leave to retire from the house[16].

The army seemed satisfied with this proof of submission, and, in order to preserve appearances, removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed its head-quarters at Reading, still having the king in its custody. Nor was Charles displeased at this jealous watchfulness over his person. He now began to find of what consequence he was to both parties; and fortune, amid all his calamities, seemed again to flatter him. The two houses, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than they had for some time employed, and even invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance toward the adjustment of national affairs. The chief officers of the army treated him with apparent regard; and the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on, in the public declarations of that body; so that the royalists conceived hopes of the re-establishment of monarchy.

Though the king kept his ear open to all proposals, and hoped to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he

14 Rushworth, vol. vii. and viii.

15 The names of these members were sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, Holland, Massey, Glynne, Nichol, Long, and Harley.

16 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv.—Rushworth.

entertained stronger hopes of an accommodation with the army than with the parliament, whose rigour he had severely felt. To this opinion he was particularly inclined, by the proposals sent from the council of officers for the settlement of the nation; in which they neither insisted on the abolition of episcopacy nor on the punishment of the royalists—the very points that he was extremely unwilling to yield, and which had rendered every former negotiation abortive. He also hoped, that, by gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over the whole military power, and at once reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Cromwell he offered the garter, a peerage, and the command of the army; and to Ireton, the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that they could reasonably, from their birth or former situation, entertain more ambitious views[17].

Cromwell, willing to keep a door open for an accommodation with the king, if the course of events should render it necessary, pretended to listen to these secret negotiations; but he continued, at the same time, his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and of depriving it of all means of resistance. For this purpose it was required, that the militia of the city of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who had exercised it during the course of the war. The parliament complied even with so imperious a demand, hoping to find a more favourable conjuncture for the recovery of its authority and influence. But the impatience of the city deprived that assembly of all prospect of advantage from its cautious measures, and afforded the troops a plausible pretext for their concerted violence. A petition against the alteration of the militia was drawn up by the citizens; and its presentation was supported by a seditious multitude, who besieged the house of commons, and obliged the members to reverse the vote they had so lately passed[18].

17 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi.—Clarendon, vol. v. 18 Rushworth, vol. vii.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the troops began their march toward the capital, to vindicate, as they said, the invaded privileges of parliament against the seditious citizens, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. They were met on Hounslow-heath by the speakers of the two houses, accompanied with eight peers, and about sixty commoners; who, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves before the army with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity, complaining of the violence put upon them, and craving protection[19].

The remaining members prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and seemed resolutely bent on resistance. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, renewed their orders for enlisting troops, and commanded the militia to man the lines. But the terror of an universal pillage, and even of a massacre, having seised the timid inhabitants, the parliament was obliged to submit. The army marched in triumph through the city, but without committing any outrage. The speakers who had seceded now resumed their seats, as if nothing had happened; and the eleven impeached members, being accused as the authors of the tumult, were expelled. Seven peers were impeached; the lord mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison; the lines round the city were leveled; the militia restored to the independents; and the parliament being reduced to absolute servitude, a day was appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty[20].

Aug. 6.

The independents, who had secretly concurred in all the encroachments of the military upon the civil power, exulted in their victory. They had now a near prospect of moulding the government into the form of that imaginary republic which had long been the object of their wishes;

19 Rushworth, vol. viii.

20 Id. ibid.—Hume, vol. vii.

and they vainly expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the nation, without perceiving that they themselves, by such a conduct, must become slaves to some military despot. Yet were the leaders of this party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, and others, the men in England most celebrated for sound thought and deep design; so certain it is, than an extravagant passion for sway will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of those measures which seem to tend to their own aggrandisement. Men under the influence of such a passion may be said to see objects only on one side: hence the hero and the politician, as well as the lover, in the failure of their self-deceiving projects, have often occasion to lament their own blindness.

The king, however, derived some temporary advantages from this revolution. The leaders of the army, having now established their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring their captive sovereign to his palace of Hampton-court; where he lived, for a time, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He still entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success, and declined all advances from the parliament. Cromwell, it is asserted, really intended to have made a private bargain with the king, but found insuperable difficulties in attempting to reconcile the military fanatics to such a measure. This reason, it is at least certain, he assigned for more rarely admitting the visits of the king's friends. The agitators, he said, had already rendered him odious to the army, by representing him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion[21].

Cromwell thus finding, or pretending to find, that he could not safely close with the king's proposals, affected to be much alarmed for his majesty's safety. Violent schemes,

21 Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. viii.

he asserted, were formed by the agitators against the life of the captive monarch; and he was apprehensive, he said, that the commanding officers might not be able to restrain those desperate enthusiasts from effecting their bloody purpose[22]. That no precaution, however, might seem to be neglected, the guards were doubled upon him, the promiscuous concourse of people was restrained, and a more jealous care was exerted in attending his person; all under colour of protecting him from danger, but really with a view of making his present situation uneasy to him.

These artifices soon produced the desired effect. Charles took a sudden resolution of withdrawing himself from Hampton-court. He accordingly made his escape, attended by three gentlemen, in whom he placed particular confidence, namely, sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legge, though seemingly without any rational plan for the future disposal of his person. He first went toward the sea-coast, and expressed great anxiety, that a certain ship, in which it was supposed he intended to transport himself beyond sea, had not arrived. After secreting himself for some time at Titchfield, he determined to put himself under the protection of colonel Hammond, governor of the isle of Wight, nephew to Dr. Hammond, his favourite chaplain, but intimately connected with the republican party. For this purpose, Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to that island, but with orders not to discover to the governor the place where the king lay concealed, until they had obtained a promise from him, that he would not deliver up his majesty to the parliament or the army. Such a promise would have been a slender security; yet Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought the colonel to Titchfield, without exacting it: and the king was obliged to accompany him to Carisbroke castle, where, although

Nov. 11.

22 Rushworth, vol. viii.

received with expressions of duty and respect, he found himself a mere prisoner [23].

It is impossible to say how far the firmest mind may, on some occasions, be influenced by the apprehensions of personal danger; but it is certain that Charles never took a weaker step, or one more agreeable to his enemies, than in abandoning his palace of Hampton-court. There, though a captive, he was of more consequence than he could be in any other place, unless at the head of an army. He was now indeed far enough removed from the fury of the agitators; but he was also totally separated from his adherents, and still at the disposal of the army. The generals could, undoubtedly, have sent him at any time, while in their custody, to such a place of confinement; but the attempt might have roused the returning loyalty of the nation. It was therefore an incident as fortunate for his persecutors as it proved fatal to himself, that he should thus timidly rush into the snare.

Cromwell being now freed from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and entirely master of the parliament, employed himself seriously to cure the disorders of the army. That arrogant spirit, which he himself had so artfully fostered among the inferior officers and private men, to prepare them for a rebellion against their masters, and which he had so successfully employed both against the king and the parliament, now became dangerous to their leaders. The camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military subordination. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic: and all hostile opposition being at an end, nothing was now talked of by these armed legislators, but plans of imaginary commonwealths, in which royalty was to be abolished, nobility set aside, all ranks of

23 All the historians of that age, except the earl of Clarendon, whose authority is chiefly followed in this narration, represent the king's departure for the isle of Wight as altogether voluntary. He seems to have probability on his side, in ascribing that measure partly to necessity. *Hist.* vol. v.

men leveled, and an universal equality of property as well as of power introduced among the citizens. A perfect parity, they said, had place among the elect; and consequently the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the Holy Ghost, was entitled to equal regard with the highest commander[24].

To mortify this spiritual pride, Cromwell issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and having nothing farther to fear from the parliament, he resolved to make that assembly the instrument of his future authority, and feigned the most perfect obedience to its commands. But the *Levelers*, as the fanatics of the army were called, secretly continued their meetings; and at length began to affirm, that the military establishment, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation. Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions; separate rendezvous were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confusion, when the bold genius of Cromwell applied a remedy adequate to the disease. At a general review of the forces, he ordered the ringleaders to be seised in the face of their companions. He held a council of war in the field; shot one mutineer, confined others, and by his well-timed rigour reduced the whole army to discipline and obedience[25].

Cromwell's power was now too great to permit him to suffer an equal; although, the better to accomplish his ambitious purposes, he willingly allowed Fairfax to retain the name of commander-in-chief. But, while the king lived, he was still in danger of finding a master. The destruction of Charles was, therefore, the great object that thenceforth engaged his thoughts. Commotions, he was sensible, would frequently arise, and perhaps a general combination might be formed in favour of a prince who was so revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the majority of the nation began to regard with

24 Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.

25 Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

an eye of affectionate compassion. But how to dispatch him was a question not easy to answer. To murder him privately, beside the baseness of the crime, would expose all concerned in it to the odious epithets of traitors and assassins, and rouse universal indignation. Some unexpected measure, he foresaw, must be adopted, which, coinciding with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, would bear the semblance of justice, ensure the devoted obedience of the army, and astonish the world by its novelty: but what that should be, he could not yet fully determine.

In order to extricate himself from this difficulty, Cromwell had recourse to the counsels of Ireton; who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint, thought himself absolved from the ordinary rules of morality in the prosecution of his holy purposes. At his suggestion, Cromwell secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers of the army, to deliberate upon the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. And in that hypocritical conference, after many enthusiastic prayers and fanatical effusions, was first opened the daring counsel of subjecting the king to a judicial sentence, and of rebel subjects bringing their sovereign to the block for his pretended tyranny and maladministration[26].

This resolution being solemnly formed, it became necessary to concert such schemes as would constrain the parliament to adopt it—in other words, to lead that assembly from one violent measure to another, till that last act of atrocious iniquity should seem essential to the safety of the leading members. The Levelers were prepared for such a proceeding by frequent sermons from the following passage of Scripture, on which the fanatical preachers of those times delighted to dwell: "Let the high praises of the Lord "be in the mouths of his saints, and a two-edged sword "in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen,

26 Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

"and punishment upon the people; to bind their kings "with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to "execute upon them the judgements written! This honour "have all his saints."

The conspirators accordingly, as a first step toward their bloody purpose, instigated the independents, who now had the chief influence in the house of commons, to frame four propositions, by way of preliminaries, which were sent to the king, and to each of which they demanded his positive assent, before they would condescend to treat with him, though they knew that the whole would be rejected. These propositions were altogether exorbitant. Charles therefore demanded a personal treaty with the parliament; and desired, that the general terms on both sides should be adjusted, before particular concessions on either side should be insisted on. The republican party in parliament pretended to take fire at this answer, and openly inveighed against the person and government of the king; while Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of *many thousands* of the *godly*, said that, the king having rejected the four propositions, which were essential to the safety and protection of his people, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation without consulting so misguided a prince. Cromwell added, that it was expected the parliament would thenceforth rule and defend the kingdom by its own power and resolutions, and no longer accustom the people to hope for safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened [27]. In consequence of these arguments, it was voted, that no more addresses should be made to the king, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it should be accounted treason for any one, without leave of the two houses of parliament, to have the least intercourse with him [28]. Jan. 15, 1648.

By this vote the king was in fact dethroned, and the whole constitution overthrown. And the commons, to

27 Walker's *Hist. of Independency*. 28 Rushworth, vol. viii.

support this extraordinary measure, issued a declaration, in which the blackest calumnies were thrown upon the king; as if they had hoped, by blasting his fame, to prepare the nation for the violence intended against his person. By order of the army, he was subjected to close confinement; all his servants were removed, and he was debarred from all correspondence with his friends. In this state of dreary solitude, while he expected every moment to be poisoned or assassinated, he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Great Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose chastisements, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of favour and affection[29].

The army and parliament did not enjoy in tranquillity that power which they had usurped. The Scots, enraged at the depression of the presbyterian party, had protested against the four propositions, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion; and the persons sent to London for this purpose, and who accompanied the English commissioners to the isle of Wight, had secretly entered into engagements with Charles for arming Scotland in his favour[30]. Nor was England quiet under its new masters. The people, roused from their delirium, found themselves loaded with a variety of taxes formerly unknown, and scarcely any appearance of law or liberty remaining in the administration of the realm. Many parts of the country were agitated with tumults, insurrections, and conspiracies; and all orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and both king and parliament reduced to subjection by a mercenary army.

But, although the different parties among the English seemed to agree in declaring their detestation of military

29 Hume, vol. vii.—"Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," was indeed a text that Charles had much occasion to call to his assistance; and a firm belief in this consolatory doctrine supported him under all his sufferings, and made him triumph even in the hour of death.

30 Clarendon, vol. v.—Burnet's *Mem. of Hamilt.*

tyranny, the ends which they pursued were so different, that little concert was observed in their insurrections. A jealousy also prevailed between them and the Scots, who had sent a considerable army southward, under the duke of Hamilton; and before the parliament, where the presbyterians had again acquired the ascendant, could conclude a new treaty with the king, Cromwell and his associates, by their vigour and activity, had routed the Scots, and dispersed or subdued all the English insurgents. But the parliament, though deprived of all hopes of prevailing, had still the courage to resist. Holles, the leader of the presbyterians, was a man of great intrepidity; and many others of the party seemed to possess the same unconquerable spirit. It was magnanimously proposed by these bold senators, that the generals and principal officers of the army should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament[31].

The generals, however, were not to be terrified by words. They marched to London, and surrounded the parliament with their forces. Yet the commons attempted, in the face of the army, to finish their treaty with Charles; and it was voted by a majority of forty-six, that the king's concessions were sufficient grounds for proceeding to the settlement of the kingdom. This was the time for the generals to interpose; and they knew it. The next morning, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had, by order of his superiors, environed the house with a party of soldiers. He seised in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party: about a hundred and fifty others were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, who did not amount to seventy. This remnant, ludicrously called the *Rump*, instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory[32].

31 Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

32 Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Hume, vol. vii.

The future proceedings of the parliament, if a fanatical junto entirely under the direction of the army can deserve that honourable name, were worthy of the members who composed it. After having exercised their vengeance on all whom they feared, or who had been engaged in the late insurrections, they determined to close the scene with the public trial and execution of their sovereign. A committee was accordingly appointed to prepare a charge against the king: and, when it was produced, a vote passed, declaring it *High Treason* in a king to *levy war* against his *Parliament*, and appointing a *High Court of Justice* to try CHARLES STUART for that crime.

Jan. 1, 1649.

This vote was sent up to the house of peers, and rejected without one dissentient voice, contemptible as were the few peers that now attended! But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established the principle, that "the *people* are, under God, the *origin* of *all just power*,"—a maxim noble in itself, but which, as in the present case, may be perverted to the worst of purposes,—they voted, "that "the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have "the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever "is enacted and declared law by the commons hath the "force of law, without the consent of the king or house "of peers[33]." Then the ordinance for the trial of the king was again read, and unanimously agreed to.

Jan. 4.

"Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell, "to bring the king to punishment, I should "have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but, since "Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will "pray to God for a blessing on your counsels, though I "am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," added he, "when I was

33 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii.

"lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, "felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and "considered this supernatural movement as the answer "which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to "my supplications[34]!"

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and Charles foresaw that a period would soon be put to his life; yet he could not persuade himself, after all the steps that had been taken, that his enemies really intended to conclude their violences by a *public trial and execution*. The form of the trial, however, was soon regulated, and the high court of justice, or rather of iniquity, fully constituted. It sat in Westminster-hall, and consisted of a hundred and thirty-five persons, as named by the commons; but no more than seventy usually attended, and few of these were respectable either in point of birth or of character. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and other officers of the army, some members of the lower house, and some citizens of London, were the awful judges appointed to try their sovereign. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke, another lawyer, was appointed solicitor for the people of England; and Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants.

Jan. 16.

Though the king had long been detained a prisoner, and was now produced as a criminal, he still remembered what he owed to himself before such an inferior tribunal, and sustained with composure and magnanimity the majesty of the throne. Being conducted to a chair, placed within the bar, he took his seat with his hat on, and surveyed his judges with an air of dignified disdain. The solicitor represented, in the name of the commons, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and intrusted with a limited power,

34 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii.

had nevertheless, from a wicked design of erecting an unlimited and tyrannical government, traitorously and maliciously levied war against the parliament and the people, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and an implacable enemy of the state. When the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer. Charles with great temper and firmness, declined the authority of the court. Having been engaged in a treaty with the two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected, he said, to be brought to his capital in a different manner, and to be restored to his power, dignity, and revenue, as well as to his personal liberty; that he could now perceive no appearance of the upper house, so essential a part of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pleaded, were subdued by lawless force; that the whole authority of the state, though free and united, was not entitled to try him, the hereditary sovereign of the realm; that he acknowledged he had a TRUST committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable: he was intrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognising a power founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, though unsuccessfully, he had struggled so long[35]. The president contended that the king must not decline the authority of his judges; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of all lawful power; and that kings themselves acted only in trust

35 *State Trials*, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.—Ludlow, vol. i.

from that community which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth sitting, when the judges had examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him; adjudging, that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body. Firm and intrepid in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himself either as a prince or as a man; nor did he discover any emotion at this extraordinary sentence, but seemed to look down, with a mixture of pity and contempt, on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity, Three days were allowed him between his sentence and execution. These he passed in great tranquillity, occupied himself chiefly in reading and devotion, and every night slept as soundly as usual, though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and making other preparations for his exit, continually resounded in his ears[36].

Charles, though thus oppressed by a rebellious faction, was not suffered to die without the tear of compassion, or the interposition of friendly powers. The people who, in their misguided fury, had before so violently rejected him, now avowed him for their monarch, by their generous sorrow; and they poured forth their prayers for his preservation, notwithstanding the rod of tyranny that hung over them. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed and protested against the intended violence, which insultingly pretended to conceal

36 Walker's *Hist. of Independency.*—Butii *Elench. Motuum.*—Rushworth.

itself under the semblance of law and justice; and the queen and the prince of Wales wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. But all their solicitations were in vain. Nothing could alter the resolutions of men whose ambitious projects seemed to require the blood of their sovereign as a seal.

On the morning of the fatal day, the king rose early, and continued his devotions till noon, assisted by bishop Juxon; a man whose mild and steady virtues very much resembled those of his sovereign. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution; it being intended, by choosing that place, to display more fully the triumph of popular justice over tyrannical power. And Charles, having taken a slight refreshment of bread and wine, walked through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold, which was covered with black cloth. In the middle of it appeared the block and axe, with two executioners in masques. Several troops of horse and companies of foot were placed around it; and a vast number of spectators waited, in silent horror, at a greater distance. The king eyed these solemn preparations with great composure; and finding that he could not expect to be heard by the people, he addressed himself to the few about his person, but particularly to colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had been lately committed, and on whom he had wrought an entire conversion. He vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced war against his parliament. But, although innocent toward his people, he acknowledged the equity of his fate in the eye of Heaven; and observed, that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to take effect upon the earl of Strafford was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself[37]. He declared, that he forgave all his enemies, even

Jan. 30.

37 I have observed in a former note, that Charles ought not to have given his assent to the bill of attainder against Strafford, unless he thought his minister had exceeded his instructions. This solemn expression of remorse proves that the king believed him guiltless. And Strafford's vindication of himself from

the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor[39].

These exhortations being finished, the king prepared himself for the block; the prelate in the mean time observing to him, that there was but one stage more between him and heaven, and that, though troublesome, it was short. "I go," said Charles, "from a corruptible to an "incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can arise."— "You are exchanged," replied the bishop, "from a "temporal to an eternal crown: a good exchange!" One of the executioners, at a single blow, severed the king's head from his body; and the other, holding it up, cried

the *accusation* of *rigour*, in a letter to an intimate friend, fully justifies the character I have given of him, explains the motives of his conduct, and evinces the necessity of strong measures, as well as their conformity to the will of his master. "I have been represented," said he, "rather as a bashaw of Buda than the mi-"nister of a pious and Christian king. Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in "myself, it was quite the contrary. No man could show wherein I had expressed it "in my nature; no friend would charge me with it in my private conversation; no "creature had found it in the management of my domestic affairs; so if I stood so "clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any *equal mind* that it was not "any thing *within*, but the *necessity of his majesty's service*, which enforced me into "a seeming strictness *outwardly*. And that was the reason indeed; for where I "found a crown, a church, and a people *spoiled*, I could not imagine to redeem them "from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. Where a domi-"nion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft "and moderate counsels; but where a *sovereignty* (be it spoken with reverence) "was *going down the hill*, the *nature of men* did so easily *side* into the *paths* of "*uncontrolled liberty*, as it would not be *brought back* without *strength*, nor be "*forced up the hill again* but by *vigour*. And true it was, I knew no other *rule* to "*govern by*, but by *reward* and *punishment*. If this be *sharpness*, if this be *severity*, "I desire to be better *instructed* by his majesty and their lordships;" (this letter being the substance of a speech in the privy-council) "for in truth it did not seem "so to me. However, if I were once *told* that his majesty *liked not to be thus served*, "I would readily *conform myself*; follow the *bent* and current of my *own disposition*, "which is to be *quiet*. Here his majesty interrupted me, and said, that was no "*severity*; if I *served* him *otherwise*, I should not *serve* him as he *expected from* "*me*." Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, vol. ii.

39 *State Trials*, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. viii.—Whitelocke, p. 375.—Burnet, vol. i.—Herbert's *Mem.* 117—127.

aloud, "This is the head of a traitor[40]!" Grief, terror, and indignation, seised the hearts of the astonished spectators; each of whom seemed to accuse himself either of active disloyalty to his murdered sovereign, or of too indolent a defence of his oppressed cause, and to regard himself as an accomplice in this horrid transaction, which had fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation, and must expose it to the vengeance of an offended Deity. The same sentiments spread themselves through the kingdom. The people were overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion, and filled with unrelenting hatred against the assassins of their sovereign. His sufferings, his magnanimity, his patience, his piety, and his christian deportment, seemed to efface all remembrance of his errors; and, except among the devoted partisans of the murderous faction, nothing was to be heard but lamentations and self-reproaches[41].

Charles I. was of a middling stature, strong, and well proportioned. His features were regular, and his aspect pleasing, but melancholy. He excelled in horsemanship and other manly exercises. His judgement was sound, his taste elegant, and his general temper moderate. He

40 It being remarked that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had emphatically pronounced the word REMEMBER! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals insisted that Juxon should inform them of its latent meaning. The bishop told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity of repeating that desire; and his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence toward his greatest enemies. Hume, vol. vii.

41 This disposition of mind was much heightened by the appearance of the Icon Basiliké, a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution, and containing (beside his prayers in the exercise of his private devotions) meditations, or self-conversations, in which the most blameable measures of his government are vindicated or palliated. A performance so full of piety, meekness, and humanity, then believed to be written by the Royal Martyr, as he was called by the friends of the church and monarchy, and published at so critical a time, had wonderful effects upon the nation. It passed rapidly through many editions; and, independent of all prejudice or partiality, it must be allowed to be a work of merit, especially with regard to style and composition. It was long doubted whether it was the production

was a sincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of those who pursued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable, and even highly exemplary; in a word, we may say with lord Clarendon, that "he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the "best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the "best Christian in his dominions." But he had the misfortune, as a king, to be educated in high notions of the royal prerogative, which he thought it his duty to support, at a time when his people were little inclined to respect such rights[42]; and to be superstitiously devoted to the religion of his country, when the violence of fanaticism was ready to overturn both the church and monarchy. In the convulsion occasioned by these opposite humours

of Charles, or of Dr. Gauden; but it is now known to have been chiefly written by the latter. With that performance were published several others, particularly a poem, entitled *Majesty in Misery*, said to have been composed by the king during his confinement in Carisbroke castle. The first lines of this poem are sufficiently remarkable to merit the attention of the historian, as they contain a vindication of Charles's veracity, by way of appeal to an awful Judge, whom he could not hope to deceive.

> " Great Monarch of the World, from whose power springs
> " The potency and power of kings,
> " Record the royal woe, my suffering sings;
> " And teach my *tongue*, that ever did *confine*
> " Its *faculties* in *Truth's* seraphic *line*,
> " To track the *Treasons* of *thy Foes* and *mine!*"

42 The king's sentiments, in regard to government, seem to have been sufficiently moderate before his death. "Give *belief* to my *experience*," says he, in a letter to the prince of Wales, "never to *affect* more *greatness* or *prerogative* than what is "really and intrinsically for the *good* of your *subjects*, not the *satisfaction* of *favour-* "*ites*. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a "bountiful prince to any whom youincline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You "may perceive, that all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest; and "if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams which the rivers "entrust with him, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make him up an "ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is a "low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been "shaken; but our subjects have learned, I dare say, that *victories over their princes* "*are but triumphs over themselves*; and so will more unwillingly hearken to changes "hereafter."—This letter was written soon after the last negotiation with the parliament in the isle of Wight, in 1648.

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and pretensions, he fell beneath the fury of an ambitious faction, a martyr to his principles and the English constitution. Had he acceded more early to the reasonable demands of the commons, he might perhaps have avoided his fate. Yet their furious encroachments on the prerogative, after those demands had been granted, leave it doubtful, whether they would, at any time, have been satisfied with equitable concessions, or whether it was possible for Charles, by any line of conduct, to have averted the evils that overtook him, unless he had possessed such vigour and capacity as might have enabled him to crush the rising spirit of liberty; an event which must have proved no less dangerous to the constitution than the victory of the parliament. It is certain, however, that he was too easy in yielding to the opinion of others, and too apt to listen to violent counsels. His abilities, like those of his father, shone more in reasoning than in action; and his virtues as well as his talents were better suited to private than to public life. As he wanted firmness in his regal capacity, he is also reproached with want of sincerity; and to these two defects in his character, more especially to the latter (an imputation from which he cannot be altogether vindicated), the zealous friends of freedom have ascribed the ruin of the royal cause, the triumph of the military despots over the parliament, and the death of Charles. The great body of the commons were surely not enemies to monarchy; but, having no confidence in the king, they thought they could never sufficiently fetter him with limitations. To this idea we may attribute their rigour, and the rise of the civil war. The subsequent events were not within their control.

The death of the king was soon followed by the dissolution of the monarchy. The commons, after having declared it high treason to proclaim or acknowledge Charles

Stuart, commonly called *Prince of Wales*, as sovereign of England, voted that kingly power should be abolished, as *unnecessary*, *burthensome*, and *dangerous*. They also abolished the house of peers, as *useless* and *dangerous*; and ordered a new great seal to be made, on one side of which was engraven the date, and on the other they themselves were represented as assembled in parliament, with this inscription: "IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY "GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED[43]." It was committed in charge to a certain number of persons, denominated *The Conservators of the Liberties of England*; in whose name all public business was transacted, under the direction of the house of commons. The king's statue in the Exchange was thrown down; and on the pedestal the following words were inscribed:—*Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus*; "The Tyrant, the last of the Kings, is "gone[44]."

We must now, my dear Philip, turn aside to contemplate the affairs of the continent, and take a view of the events that introduced the personal government of Louis XIV., before we carry farther the transactions of England.

43 *Journal*, Jan. 1648-9.
44 Walker's *Hist. of Independency*.—Clarendon, vol. v.

LETTER VIII.

A general View of the European Continent, from the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, *to the Pyrenean Treaty, in* 1659, *and the Peace of Oliva, in* 1660.

THOUGH the peace of Westphalia restored tranquillity to Germany and the North of Europe, war was con-

A. D. 1648. tinued between France and Spain, as I have formerly had occasion to observe[1], and soon broke out among the northern powers. France was, at the same time, distracted by civil broils, though less fatal than those of England.

These broils were fomented by the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterward the famous cardinal de Retz, so well known by his interesting *Memoirs*, which unfold minutely the latent springs of the intrigues of state, and the principles by which they are governed. This extraordinary man united to the most profligate manners a profound genius and a factious spirit. Conscious of his superior abilities, and jealous of the greatness of Mazarine, whose place of prime minister he thought himself better qualified to fill, he infused the same jealousies into the nobility and the princes of the blood; while he roused the people to sedition, by representing, in the strongest colours, the ignominy of submitting to the oppressive administration of a stranger. Yet that minister had highly contributed to the grandeur of the French monarchy, by the important possessions obtained and secured by the treaty of Munster; nor were the taxes complained of more weighty than the necessities of the state required, or half so burthensome as those which the civil war soon brought upon the kingdom, besides its destructive rage, and the advantage it gave to the Spanish arms.

But although the coadjutor seems not to have been sincerely zealous for the good of his country, such a pretence was necessary to cover his ambitious projects; and, to give a farther sanction to his pretended reformation, he artfully drew the parliament of Paris into his views. Inflamed with the love of power, and stimulated by the insinuations of an intriguing prelate, the parliament boldly set its authority in opposition to that of the court, even

1 Part I. Letter LXXVII.

before any of the princes of the blood had declared themselves. This was a very extraordinary step; for the parliament of Paris, though a respectable body, was now no more than the first college of justice in the kingdom, the ancient parliaments or national assemblies having been long since abolished, or at least discontinued. But the people, deceived by the name, and allured by the successful usurpations of the English parliament, considered the parliament of Paris as the *Parent of the State*[2]: and under its sanction, and that of the archbishop, they thought every violence justifiable against the court; or, as was pretended, against the minister.

Louis XIV. was yet in his minority, and had discovered no symptoms of that ambitious spirit which afterward spread terror over Europe. Anne of Austria, the queen-regent, reposed her whole confidence in cardinal Mazarine; and this minister had hitherto governed the kingdom with prudence and moderation. Incensed, however, to see a body of lawyers, who had purchased their places, studiously oppose that authority by which they were constituted, he ordered the president and one of the most factious counsellors to be arrested, and sent to prison. The populace rose; barricaded the streets; threatened the cardinal and the queen-regent; and continued their outrages, till the prisoners were released[3].

Thus encouraged by the support of the people, the parliament and the archbishop proceeded in their cabals. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being insulted. She was continually reproached with sacrificing the nation to her friendship for Mazarine; and ballads and madrigals were sung in every street, to confirm the suspicions entertained of her virtue, or circulate the tale of her amours. In consequence of these disagreeable circumstances, and apprehensions of more

2 Voltaire, *Siécle de Louis XIV.* tome i. chap. iii.

3 *Mém. de Gui Joli,* tome i.

serious evils, the queen-regent left Paris, accompanied by her children and her minister, and retired to St. Germain's. Here, if we may credit Voltaire, the

A.D. 1649.

distress of the royal family was so great, that the jewels of the crown were pawned for a temporary supply of cash: the king himself was often in want of common necessaries; and the pages of his chamber were dismissed because he could not afford them a maintenance[4].

In the mean time the parliament, by a solemn arrêt, declared cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. This was the signal of hostility and revolt. A separation of parties took place; and the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Beaufort, the duke of Bouillon, and their adherents, instigated by the factious coadjutor, and flattered with the hopes of making the wild proceedings of the parliament subservient to their ambitious views, came and offered their services to that body. Seduced by the example of Paris, other cities, other parliaments, and even provinces, revolted, so as to involve the whole kingdom in confusion. But the conduct of the insurgents was, in general, ludicrous and absurd. Having no distinct aim, they had neither concert nor courage to execute any enterprise of importance; but wasted their time in vain parade, until the great Condé, who, though dissatisfied with the court, had engaged in the royal cause at the earnest entreaties of the queen-regent, threw the capital into an alarm, and dispersed the undisciplined troops of the parliament, with no more than six thousand men. A conference was agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel, by which a general amnesty was granted, and a temporary quiet procured, but without any extinction of hatred on either side[5].

4 *Siécle*, chap. iii.

5 *Mém. de Mad. de Motteville*, tome iii.—*Mém. de Gui Joli*, tome i.—*Mém. du Card. de Retz*, tome i.

While the parties remained in such a temper, no solid peace could be expected. The court, however, returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received by the people with expressions of joy and satisfaction. This levity of the French nation, the absurd mixture of a frivolous gallantry with the intrigues of state, with plots and conspiracies, and the influence which the duchess of Longueville and other libertine women had, in making the most eminent leaders several times change sides, have induced philosophical writers to consider these contemptible wars with greater attention than they would otherwise have claimed.

A fresh instance of that levity was soon displayed. The prince of Condé, always the prey of a restless ambition, presuming on his great services, and setting no bounds to his pretensions, repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal. He also, by his haughtiness, disgusted the coadjutor, and entered into cabals against the court with other factious leaders. By the advice of this intriguing prelate, Condé was arrested at the council-table, with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, the very heads of the malcontents; and the citizens of Paris, with bonfires and public rejoicings, celebrated the imprisonment of those turbulent spirits, whom they had lately adored as their deliverers [6].

A. D. 1650.

But the triumph of the minister was of short duration. The imprisonment of the princes roused their partisans to arms in every province of the realm; and the duke of Orléans, the young king's uncle, whom the cardinal had slighted, became the head of the malcontents. Mazarine, after setting the princes at liberty, in hopes of conciliating their favour, was obliged to fly first to Liege, and then to Cologne; where he continued to govern the queen-regent, as if he had never quitted the court. By his intrigues, assisted by the coadjutor, who, though he had been deeply concerned in these new disturbances, was

6 *Mém. du Card. de Retz, tome i.—Mém. du Comte de Brienne,* tome iii.

again dissatisfied with his party, the duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the mal-
A. D. 1651.
contents. Mazarine re-entered the kingdom, escorted by six thousand men. Condé once more flew to arms; and the parliament declared him guilty of high-treason, nearly at the same time that it set a price upon the head of the cardinal, against whom only he had taken the field [7]!

The great, but inconsistent Condé, in this extremity of his fortune, threw himself upon the protection of Spain; and, after pursuing the cardinal and the court
A. D. 1652.
from province to province, he entered Paris with a body of Spanish troops. The people were filled with admiration of his valour, and the parliament was struck with awe. In the mean time Turenne, who, by his masterly retreats, had often saved the king when his escape seemed impracticable, now conducted him within sight of his capital; and Louis witnessed a fierce conflict in the suburb of St. Antoine, where the two greatest generals in France performed wonders at the head of a few men. The duke of Orléans, being doubtful what conduct to pursue, remained in his palace, as did the coadjutor-archbishop, now cardinal de Retz. The parliament waited the event of the battle before it published any decree. The people, equally afraid of the troops of both parties, had shut the city gates, and would suffer nobody either to go in or out. The combat long remained suspended, and many gallant noblemen were killed or wounded. At last it was decided in favour of the prince of Condé, by a striking exertion of female intrepidity. The daughter of the duke of Orleans, more resolute than her father, had the boldness to order the cannon of the Bastile to be fired upon the king's troops, and Turenne was obliged to retire [8]. "These cannon have killed her husband!" said Mazarine, when

7 Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* chap. iv,

8 *Mém. de Mad. de Motteville*, tome v.—*Mém. de Gui Joli*, tome ii.

informed of that circumstance, knowing how ambitious she was of being married to a crowned head, and that she hoped to be queen of France [9].

Encouraged by this success, the parliament declared the duke of Orléans *Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom*; and the prince of Condé was styled *Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of France*. These new dignities, however, were of short duration. A popular tumult, in which several citizens were killed, and of which the prince of Condé was supposed to be the author, obliged him to quit Paris, where he found his credit rapidly declining; and the king, in order to appease his subjects, dismissed Mazarine, who retired to Sedan. A.D. 1653.

That measure had the desired effect. The people every where returned to their allegiance; and Louis entered his capital, amid the acclamations of persons of all ranks. The duke of Orléans was banished from the court, and cardinal de Retz committed to prison. Condé, being condemned to lose his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The parliament was humbled, and Mazarine recalled [10]; when, finding his power more firmly established than ever, the subtle Italian, in the exultation of his heart at the general homage that was paid to him, looked down with an eye of contempt on the levity of the French, and resolved to make them feel the pressure of his administration, of which they had formerly complained without reason. A.D. 1655.

During these absurd and pernicious wars, which for several years distracted France, the Spaniards, though feeble, were not altogether inactive. They had recovered Barcelona, after a tedious siege: they had taken Casal from the duke of Savoy, and attached the duke of Mantua to their interest, by restoring that place to him: they had reduced Gravelines, and again made themselves mas-

9 Voltaire, *Siécle*, chap. iv. 10 Id. ibid.

ters of Dunkirk. But Louis XIV. being now in full possession of his kingdom, and Turenne opposed to Condé, the face of affairs was soon changed, in spite of the utmost efforts of don Louis de Haro (nephew to the late minister Olivarez), who governed Spain and Philip IV. with as absolute an ascendant as Mazarine did France and her young king.

The first event that gave a turn to the war was the relief of Arras. The siege of this city was undertaken by the prince of Condé, the archduke Leopold, and the count de Fuensaldagna, and pressed with great vigour. The maréchals Turenne and de la Ferté who had formed the siege of Stenay, a place strong and well defended, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, and tried every method to oblige them to abandon their enterprise, but without effect. At length Stenay surrendered, and another division of the French army, under the maréchal d'Hoquincourt, joined Turenne, who, contrary to the opinion of his principal officers, resolved to assault the Spanish lines. This he performed with great success, and seised the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy[11]. Condé, however, gained no less honour than his rival. After defeating d'Hoquincourt, and repelling de la Ferté, he retreated gloriously himself, by covering the flight of the vanquished Spaniards, and saving the shattered remains of their army. "I "am informed," said Philip, in his letter of acknowledgment to the prince, "that every thing was lost, and that "you have recovered every thing[12]."

A.D. 1656.

This success, which Mazarine vainly ascribed to himself, because he and the king were, at the time, within a few leagues of Arras, was nearly balanced by the relief of Valenciennes, where fortune shifted sides, and taught the prince's victorious competitor to seek, in his turn, the

11 *Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne*, tome iv. 12 Voltaire, *Siécle*, chap. v.

honours of war in a retreat. The siege of that place had been undertaken by Turenne and de la Ferté, with an army of twenty thousand men. The lines were completed, and the operations in great forwardness, when the prince of Condé and don John of Austria, Philip's natural son, advanced with an equal if not superior army, and forced, in the night, the lines of the quarter where de la Ferté commanded. Turenne flew to his assistance, but all his valour and conduct were not sufficient to restore the battle. He carried off his artillery and baggage, however, unmolested; and even halted, on the approach of the enemy, as if he had been desirous of renewing the combat. Astonished at his cool intrepidity, the Spaniards did not dare to attack him. He continued his march; and took Capelle, in sight of don John and the prince[13]. It was this talent of at once inspiring confidence into his troops, and intimidating his enemies by the boldness of his enterprises, that made Turenne superior to any general of his age. Conscious that his force would be estimated by the magnitude of his undertakings, after he had acquired the reputation of prudence, he conquered no less by his knowledge of human nature than of the art of war; and he had the singular good fortune to escape the most imminent dangers by seeming to be above them.

Thus for a time the balance was kept almost even between France and Spain, by the address of two able ministers, and the operations of two great generals. But when the crafty Mazarine, by sacrificing to the pride of Cromwell, had drawn England to the assistance of France, Spain was no longer able to maintain the contest. Dunkirk, the most important fortress in Flanders, was the first object of their united efforts. Twenty English ships blocked up the harbour, while a French army

A. D. 1658.

13 *La Vie de Turenne*, p. 296.—Hénault, *Hist. Chronol. de France*, tome ii.—Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. 5.

under Turenne, and six thousand English veterans, besieged the town by land. The prince of Condé and don John came to its relief: Turenne led out his army to give them battle: and by the obstinate valour of the English, and the impetuosity of the French troops, the Spaniards were totally defeated near the Downs. Dunkirk surrendered ten days after, and was delivered to the English according to treaty. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Ypres, and Gravelines, also submitted to the arms of France[14]: and Spain saw the necessity of suing for peace.

One great object of Mazarine's policy was, to obtain for the house of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy. With this view he had formerly proffered peace to Philip, by proposing a marriage between Louis and the infanta Maria Theresa. But, as the king of Spain had then only one son, whose unhealthy infancy rendered his life precarious, the proposal was rejected, lest the infanta, who might probably become heiress to the Spanish dominions, should carry her right into the house of an enemy. That obstacle, however, was now removed. The king of Spain had a son by a second wife, and the queen was again pregnant. It was therefore agreed, that the infanta should be given to young Louis, in order to procure peace to the exhausted monarchy; and the better to settle the preliminaries of a treaty, Mazarine and don Louis de Haro met on the frontiers of both kingdoms, in the isle of Pheasants in the Pyrenées. There, after many conferences and much ceremony, all points were adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. Philip agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Louis to receive Condé into favour; Spain renounced all pretensions to Alsace; and the long-disputed succession of Juliers was granted to the duke of Neuburg[15].

A. D. 1659.

Nov. 7.

In little more than a year from the conclusion of this

14 Id. ibid.

15 Voltaire, ubi sup.—Daniel, tome v.

important treaty died cardinal Mazarine, and left the reins of government to Louis, who had become impatient of a yoke which he was afraid to shake off. March 9, 1661, N.S.
Few historians have done justice to the character of this accomplished statesman, whose political caution restrained the vigour of his spirit, and the lustre of whose genius was concealed beneath his profound dissimulation. If his schemes were less comprehensive, or his enterprises less bold than those of Richelieu, they were less extravagant[16]. He has been accused of avarice, and seemingly with justice; yet if we reflect that, being an indigent foreigner himself, he married seven nieces to French noblemen of the first distinction, and left his nephew duke of Nevers, we shall perhaps be inclined in some measure to forgive him. So many matches could not be formed without money:—and the pride of raising one's family is no contemptible passion. He had the extraordinary honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, while France was distracted by intestine hostilities; and of twice restoring peace to the greater part of Europe, after two of the longest and most bloody wars it had ever known. Nor must we forget his attention to the Spanish succession, which has since rendered the house of Bourbon so formidable to its neighbours, and is a striking proof of his political foresight. His leading maxim was, that force ought never to be employed but in default of other means; and

16 Voltaire has placed the talents of these two ministers in a just point of view, by applying them to the same object, with a less worthy associate, in order to make the illustration more perfect. "If, for example," says he, "the subjection of Rochelle had been undertaken by such a genius as Cæsar Borgia, he would, under "the sanction of the most sacred oaths, have drawn the principal inhabitants into "his camp, and there have put them to death. Mazarine would have gained possession of the place two or three years later, by corrupting the magistrates, and "sowing discord among the citizens. Cardinal Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander "the Great, laid a boom across the harbour, and entered Rochelle as a conqueror; "but had the sea been a little more turbulent, or the English a little more diligent, "Rochelle might have been saved, and Richelieu called a rash and inconsiderate "projector!" *Siécle*, tome i.

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his perfect knowledge of mankind, the most essential of all mental acquisitions for a minister, frequently enabled him to accomplish his views without it. When it was absolutely necessary, we have seen him employ it with effect.

The affairs of Germany, Poland, and the northern crowns, now claim our attention.

The tranquillity which the peace of Westphalia had restored to Germany continued unmolested till the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657, when an interregnum of five months ensued, and the diet was violently agitated in regard to the choice of a successor. At last, however, his son Leopold was raised to the imperial throne; for, although jealousies prevailed among some of the electors, on account of the ambition of the house of Austria, the majority were convinced of the propriety of such a choice, in order to prevent more alarming dangers. While the Turks remained masters of Buda, the French in possession of Alsace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor seemed necessary [17].

The first measure of Leopold's reign was the completion of an alliance, which his father had begun, with Poland and Denmark, in opposition to Sweden. But we shall have occasion to notice the events to which this alliance gave birth, in tracing the history of the northern kingdoms.

Sweden had been raised to the highest pitch of military reputation by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, who was considered as the champion of the Protestant cause; but who gratified his own ambition and love of glory, at the same time that he protected the liberties of Germany, which only his immature death perhaps prevented him from overturning. And his daughter Christina, equally ambitious of fame, though not in the camp or in the cabinet, immor-

17 *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

talised her reign by her patronage of learning and the polite arts. She drew to her court Grotius, Vossius, Des Cartes, and other eminent men, whom she liberally rewarded. But her studies in general were too antiquated and abstract to give lustre to her character as a woman; and, by occupying too great a share of her attention, they were injurious to her reputation as a queen. She acceded to the peace of Westphalia, as I before hinted, from a desire of indulging her passion for study, rather than out of any regard to the happiness of Sweden or the repose of Europe. That peace lightened the cares of government; but they were still too weighty for Christina. "I think I see the Devil!" said she, "when my secretary enters with his dis-"patches[18]."

In order to enable the queen to pursue her literary amusements, without disadvantage to the state, the senate of Sweden proposed, that she should marry her cousin Charles Gustavus, for whom she had been designed from her infancy. But although this prince appears to have been a favourite, and Christina's conduct proves that she was by no means insensible to the passion of the sexes, yet, like our Elizabeth, she did not choose to give herself a master. She prevailed upon the states, however, to declare Charles her successor; a measure by which she kept herself at liberty, secured the tranquillity of Sweden, and repressed the ambition of those powerful nobles who, in case of her death, might otherwise have offered pretensions to the crown. A. D. 1650.

Yet the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progress, but whose martial spirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well understood, could not bear to see the daughter of the great Gustavus devote her time and her talents solely to the study of dead languages; to the disputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing speculations; to a taste for medals,

18 *Mém. de Christine.*

statues, pictures, and public spectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of royalty. And they were still more displeased to find the resources of the kingdom exhausted in what they considered as inglorious pursuits and childish amusements. A general discontent arose; and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, her intention of resigning her crown to him in full senate.

A.D. 1652.

Charles, trained in dissimulation, and fearing that the queen had laid a snare for him, rejected her proposal, and prayed that God and Sweden might long preserve her majesty. Perhaps he flattered himself, that the senate would accept her resignation, and appoint him to the government, in recompence for his modesty; but he was deceived, if these were his expectations. The senate and the chief officers of state, headed by the chancellor Oxenstiern, waited upon the queen. And whether Christina had a mind to alarm her discontented subjects, and establish herself more firmly on the throne by pretending to desert it, or whatever else might be her motive for resigning; in a word, whether having renounced the crown out of vanity, which dictated most of her actions, she was disposed to resume it out of caprice; she submitted, or pretended to submit, to the importunity of her subjects and successor, and consented to reign, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry[19].

Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits, or more properly her love of ease and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned her crown, when she was in the twenty-ninth year of her age; and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden, under the name of Charles X. After despoiling the palace of every thing

June, 1654.

19 Pufend. lib. vi.—Archenholtz, tome i.

curious or valuable, she left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbarism. She passed through Germany in the dress of a man; and, intending to fix her residence at Rome, that she might have opportunities of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, she embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruck[20]. The Catholics considered this conversion as a great triumph, and the Protestants were not a little mortified at the defection of so celebrated a woman; but both without reason; for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of the two religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom she intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleasures of social intercourse.

But Christina, like most sovereigns who have quitted a throne in order to escape from the cares of royalty, found herself no less uneasy in private life: so true it is, that happiness depends on the mind, not on the condition! She soon discovered, that a queen without power was a very insignificant character in Italy, and is supposed to have repented of her resignation. However that may be, she certainly became weary of her situation, and made two journeys into France; where she was received with much respect by the learned, whom she had pensioned and flattered, but with little attention by the polite, especially of her own sex. Her masculine air and libertine conversation kept women of delicacy at a distance. Nor does she seem to have desired their acquaintance; for when, on her first appearance, some ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What," said she, "makes "these women so fond of me? Is it because I am so like "a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whose wit and beauty gave her the power of pleasing to the most advanced age, and who was no less distinguished by the mul- A.D. 1656.

20 *Mém. de Christine.*

tiplicity of her amours than the singularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France whom Christina honoured with any particular marks of her esteem[21]. She loved the free conversation of men; or of women, who, like herself, were above vulgar restraints.

The modest women in France, however, repaid Christina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had she never excited, in the mind of either sex, a more disagreeable emotion; but that was soon succeeded by those of detestation and horror. As if not only sovereignty but despotism had been attached to her person, in a fit of libidinous jealousy she ordered Monaldeschi, her favourite, to be assassinated in

A.D. 1657. the great gallery of Fontainbleau, and almost in her own presence[22]. Yet the woman who thus terminated an amour by a murder did not want her apologists among the learned: and this atrocious violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilised kingdom, was allowed to pass, not only without punishment, but without inquiry!

Christina found it necessary, however, to leave France, where she was now justly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome, where, under the wing of the vicar of Christ, the greatest criminals find shelter and consolation; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, spent the remainder of her life, in sensual indulgences and literary conversations, with cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the sacred college; in admiring many things for which she had no taste, and in talking about more which she did not understand.

While Christina was thus rambling over Europe, and amusing herself in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Gustavus, Charles X. was indulging the martial spirit of the Swedes, by the conquest of Poland. When I last treated of the

21 *Mém. de Christine.* 22 D'Alembert.

affairs of that country, I informed you of the armistice concluded by the Swedish court with Sigismund III. who, dying in the year 1632, was succeeded by his son Ladislaus, a prince of courage and capacity. The Russians having violated the peace with Poland, the new king acted with such spirit, that the czar Michael was humbled into forbearance. The Turks, being guilty of a similar breach of their engagements, were chastised by a considerable defeat; and Morad IV. was constrained to accept the terms imposed by the victor. Without the hazard of actual war, Ladislaus procured from the Swedes a restitution of the conquests of the great Gustavus in Prussia. He imprudently concurred with the senate in the oppression of the Cossacks, who, though they were reduced to submission by the efforts of the Polanders, were not deterred from a general revolt. He left the state thus embroiled when he died in 1648. His brother and successor, John Casimir, was unwilling to continue the war against the Cossacks; but the nobles insisted on its prosecution, and again led their vassals into the field, without securing the honours of triumph. Though a treaty was concluded with the revolters in 1649, the war was soon renewed; and the Tartars engaged in it as the allies of the Cossacks. The king defeated, with great slaughter, a very numerous army of his Tartarian foes; and the fame of the victory produced the dispersion of the Cossack host. The late pacification was then outwardly confirmed; but Casimir was not destined to enjoy long tranquillity[23].

Alexis, who (in 1646) had succeeded his father Michael on the Russian throne, was prompted by ambition to take advantage of the dissensions between Casimir and the nobles, and the unsubdued spirit of the Cossacks. His troops, with the aid of the latter, reduced Smolensko, in 1654, after a long siege; took Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, and ravaged that duchy with execrable inhumanity.

23 Pufendorff.—Heidenst.

While Poland was thus harassed, the enterprising king of Sweden rushed into the country at the head of a powerful army, received the ready submission of the inhabitants of many of the towns, obtained two victories in the field, made himself master of Cracow, and drove the terrified Casimir into Silesia. The provincial governors now transferred their allegiance to the invader; and he acted for a time as sovereign of Poland. But his arms met with an effectual check in Polish Prussia; for, though most of the towns of that territory submitted to him, the burghers of Dantzic manifested an intrepid spirit of resistance, and promoted, by their bold example, a general association among the Polanders to shake off the Swedish yoke. The elector of Brandenburg (whose family had possessed Ducal Prussia from the year 1520) at first co-operated with the Swedes, and assisted at the siege of Warsaw; and his name deserves a share of the infamy attached to the cruel massacre perpetrated at the reduction of that city. But he afterward joined Casimir against Charles X.; the czar also turned his arms against a prince who had excited his jealousy; the emperor Leopold espoused the same cause; and Frederick III. of Denmark took arms against his aspiring and formidable neighbour[24].

Not dismayed by the number and the power of his adversaries, Charles led an army over the ice to Funen, reduced that and other Danish islands, and was preparing to besiege Copenhagen, when Frederick, intimidated by the progress of the enemy, sued for peace, which he obtained on unfavourable terms. This agreement, however (called the treaty of Roschild), was quickly violated by the suspicions of the Swedish monarch, who, imagining that the Danes would soon renew hostilities, formed in 1658 the siege of Copenhagen. He was on the point of reducing it, when it was relieved by a fleet sent from Holland; and, in the following year, it was saved by the joint interference

24 *Histoire des Revolutions de Pologne, par l'Abbé* des Fontaines.—Pufendorff.

of that republic and the English protector. While negotiations were on foot, Charles died of an epidemic fever, with the character of a prince too active and ambitious for the peace of Europe. A. D. 1660.

Before the death of the Swedish potentate, a truce had been concluded between him and Alexis, who had not been very successful against him; and Casimir had recovered a considerable part of Poland. He regained the rest by the treaty of Oliva, to which the states and the regency of Sweden readily agreed; and that the minority of Charles XI. might not be disturbed by foreign war, a pacification was adjusted with Denmark and other powers.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the transactions of England, which had become powerful under a republican government, and, during the latter part of the period that we have been reviewing, diffused through Europe the terror of its name.

LETTER IX.

History of the Commonwealth of England to the Death of Oliver Cromwell; with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland, Ireland, and Holland.

THE progress of Cromwell's ambition is an object worthy of the consideration of a philosophic mind. No sooner was the monarchy abolished than he began seriously to aspire after—what Charles had lost his head for being suspected to aim at—*absolute sovereignty*. But many bars were yet in his way, and much blood was to be spilled, before he could reach that enormous height, or the commonwealth could attain the quiet government of the three kingdoms. A. D. 1649.

After the dissolution of that civil and religious constitu-

tion under which the nation had for many centuries been governed, England was divided into a variety of sects and factions, some of which were dissatisfied with the ruling powers, and longed for the restoration of monarchy. But these were over-awed by an army of fifty thousand men, by which the republican and independent faction was supported, and of which Cromwell was the soul. The commonwealth parliament, as the inconsiderable part of the house of commons that remained was called, finding every thing composed into seeming tranquillity by the terror of its arms, began to assume more the air of legal authority, and to enlarge a little the narrow foundation on which it stood, by admitting, under certain conditions, such of the excluded members as were liable to least exception. A council of state was also named, consisting of thirty-eight persons, to whom all addresses were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament[1]. Among these counsellors were several peers, whose dignity added weight to the government; particularly the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury.

But although the force of the army kept every thing quiet in England, and the situation of foreign powers, as well as the indigent and neglected condition of the prince, (who had now assumed the title of Charles II. and lived sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, and sometimes in Jersey, an island which still retained its allegiance to the crown) preserved the parliament from all apprehensions from abroad, the state of parties in Scotland and Ireland filled the new republic with no small uneasiness.

The Scottish covenanters, who had begun the troubles, and who bore little affection to the royal family, but who had, notwithstanding, protested against the execution of the king and of the duke of Hamilton, who was also brought

1 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix.

to the block, now rejected the proposition of the English parliament, to mould their government into a republican form. They resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country; and which, by the express terms of the covenant, they had engaged to defend. They therefore declared young Charles king of Scotland; but expressly on condition "of his good behavi-" our and strict observance of the covenant, and of his en-" tertaining no other persons about him but such as were " godly men, and faithful to that obligation [2]." Clauses so unusual, inserted in the first acknowledgment of their prince, showed their intention of limiting extremely his authority; so that the English parliament, foreseeing the disputes that would arise between the parties, and having no decent pretext for interfering in the affairs of Scotland, left the covenanters to settle their government according to their own mind.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland interested the commonwealth more immediately in the concerns of that island, where the royal cause still wore a favourable aspect. In order to understand this matter fully, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of Irish affairs.

We have already seen how the leaders of the parliament attempted to blacken the character of the late king, for concluding, in 1643, that cessation of arms with the popish rebels, which he had reason to think necessary for the security of the Irish Protestants, as well as requisite for promoting his interest in England. They even went so far as to declare it invalid, because it was adjusted without their consent: and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. The war was, therefore, still kept alive. But as the hostilities in England prevented the parliament from sending any considerable as-

2 Burnet.—Whitelocke.

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sistance to its allies in Ireland, Inchiquin concluded an accommodation with the marquis of Ormond, whom the king had created lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

Ormond, who was a native of Ireland, and a man of virtue and prudence, now formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and engaging the Irish rebels to support the royal cause. In this he was assisted by the progress of the arms of the English parliament, from whose fanatical zeal the Irish Catholics knew they could expect no mercy. The council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, accordingly concluded, in 1646, a treaty of peace with the lord-lieutenant; by which they engaged to return to their duty and allegiance, and to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, in consideration of a general pardon for their rebellion, and the free exercise of their religion [3].

This treaty, so advantageous and even necessary to both parties, was rendered ineffectual through the intrigues of an Italian priest, named Rinuccini, whom the pope sent over to Ireland in the character of nuncio; and who, foreseeing that a general pacification with the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against the peace which the civil council had concluded. He then thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a treaty so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the Catholic faith: and the ignorant and bigoted Irish, terrified at these spiritual menaces, renounced their civil engagements, and submitted to the nuncio's authority. Ormond, who was not prepared against such a revolution in the sentiments of his countrymen, was obliged to shelter his small army in Dublin, and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

3 Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond.*

Charles, who was then involved in the greatest distress, sent orders to the lord-lieutenant, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and Ormond accordingly delivered up, in 1647, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament [4]. He himself went over to England, received a grateful acknowledgment of his past services from his royal master, and lived for some time in tranquillity near London; but finding every thing turn out unhappily for his beloved sovereign, and foreseeing that awful catastrophe which afterwards overtook him, he retired to France, and there joined the queen and prince of Wales.

During these transactions, the nuncio's authority was universally acknowledged among the Catholics in Ireland. By his insolence and indiscretion, however, he soon made them repent of their bigoted confidence, in entrusting him with so much power: and all prudent men became sensible of the necessity of supporting the declining authority of the king, to preserve the Irish nation from that destruction with which it was threatened by the English parliament. A combination for this purpose was formed, in 1648, among the Catholics, by the earl of Clanricarde; a nobleman of an ancient family, who had ever preserved his loyalty. He attacked the nuncio, and chased him out of the island; and then sent a deputation to the lord-lieutenant, inviting him to return, and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found that kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. And the authority of the English parliament was still established in Dublin, and the other towns which he himself had delivered up. He did not, however, let slip the opportunity, though less favour-

4 Carte's *Life of Ormond.*

able than could have been wished, of promoting the royal cause. Having collected, by his indefatigable diligence, in spite of every obstacle, an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons, which had been totally neglected by the rulers of the nation, while employed in the trial and execution of their sovereign. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor: Drogheda, Newry, and other places, were taken; Dublin itself was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lord-lieutenant wore so favourable an aspect, that the young king entertained thoughts of going in person to Ireland[5]. But his hopes were soon extinguished in that quarter.

The English commonwealth was no sooner established than Ireland became the object of its peculiar attention; and much intrigue was employed by the leading men, in order to procure the government of that island. Lambert expected to obtain it. But Cromwell, who considered Ireland as a new field of glory, as well as a theatre where his ambition might expand itself without exciting jealousy, had the address to procure the appointment of lord-lieutenant from the council of state, without seeming to desire such an office. He immediately sent over a reinforcement of four thousand men to colonel Jones; and, after suppressing a second mutiny of the Levelers, and punishing the ringleaders, he himself embarked with a body of twelve thousand excellent soldiers[6].

In the mean time an event took place that rendered the success of the new lord-lieutenant infallible. Ormond having passed the river Liffy, at the head of the royal army, and taken post at Rathmines, with a view of commencing the siege of Dublin, had begun the reparation of an old fort, which stood near the gates of the city, and was well calculated for cutting off supplies from the gar-

5 Carte's *Life of Ormond*. 6 Whitelocke.—Ludlow.

rison. Being exhausted with fatigue, in superintending this labour, he retired to rest, after giving orders to keep his forces under arms. But he was suddenly awakened by the noise of firing, and found all things in tumult and confusion. The officers had neglected Ormond's orders. Jones, observing their want of caution, had sallied out with the late reinforcement; and having thrown the royalists into disorder, totally routed them, in spite of all the efforts of the marquis. He took their tents, baggage, and ammunition, and returned victorious into the city, after killing three thousand men, and capturing two thousand[7].

Soon after this signal victory, which reflected so much honour upon colonel Jones, which tarnished the military reputation of Ormond, and ruined the royal cause in Ireland, Cromwell arrived at Dublin, to complete the conquest of that kingdom. He suddenly marched to Drogheda, which was well fortified, and into which Ormond, foreseeing that it would be first invested, had thrown a garrison of three thousand men, under sir Arthur Aston, an officer of tried courage. A breach being soon made in the fortifications, Cromwell ordered an assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack; and the furious valour of his troops at length bearing down all resistance, the place was entered sword in hand, and a cruel massacre made of the garrison. Even those who escaped the general slaughter, and whom the unfeeling hearts of the fanatical soldiery had spared, were murdered the next day, by orders from the English commander, one person alone escaping, to bear the mournful tidings to Ormond[8].

Sept. 10.

By this severe execution of military justice, Cromwell pretended to retaliate the cruelties of the Irish massacre. But as he well knew that the garrison of Drogheda consisted chiefly of Englishmen, his real purpose evidently

7 Ludlow, vol. i.—Borlase, p. 222. fol. edit.
8 Carte's *Life of Ormond*.—Ludlow's *Mem.*

was to strike terror into the other garrisons: and his inhuman policy had the desired effect. When he had conducted his army to Wexford, the garrison offered to capitulate, after a slight resistance. But this submission did not check the violence of the besiegers. The royalists had imprudently neglected their defence, before they obtained a formal cessation of arms; and the English fanatics, now fleshed in blood, rushed in upon them, and executed the same slaughter as at Drogheda. Henceforth every town, before which Cromwell presented himself, opened its gates on the first summons. He had no farther difficulties to encounter but what arose from fatigue and the declining season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept amongst his soldiers, who died in great numbers; and he had advanced so far with his decayed army, that he found it difficult either to subsist in the enemy's country, or to retreat to the parliamentary garrisons. His situation was truly perilous.

But Cromwell's good fortune soon relieved him from his distress. Cork, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, resolving to share the glory of their countrymen, deserted to him in that extremity, and opened their gates for the reception of his sickly troops. This desertion put an end to Ormond's authority. The Irish, at all times disorderly, could no longer be kept in obedience by a Protestant governor, whom their priests represented as the cause of all their calamities. Seeing affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy, the marquis left the island; and Cromwell, acquainted with the influence of religious prejudices, politically freed himself from all farther opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. Above forty thousand Catholics are said to have embraced this voluntary banishment [9].

These unexpected events, which blasted all the hopes of the young king from Ireland, induced him to listen to

9 Clarendon, vol. vi.—Ludlow, vol. i.

the offers of the Scottish covenanters, and appoint a meeting with their commissioners at Breda. These deputies had no power of treating. Charles was required to submit, without reserve, to the most ignominious terms ever imposed by a people upon their prince. They insisted, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons; or in other words, all who, under Hamilton and Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family: that no English subject, who had served against the parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament by which presbyterian discipline and worship were established; and that, in all civil affairs, he should conform himself to the direction of the parliament, and, in ecclesiastical, to that of the general assembly of the kirk.

Most of the king's English counsellors dissuaded him from acceding to such dishonourable conditions. Nothing, they said, could be more disgraceful than to sacrifice, for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated; that by such hypocrisy he would lose the royalists in both kingdoms, who alone were sincerely attached to him, but could never gain the presbyterians, who would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity. But these sound arguments were ridiculed by the young duke of Buckingham, afterward so remarkable for the pleasantry of his humour and the versatility of his character, and who was now in high favour with Charles. Being a man of no principle, the duke treated with contempt the idea of rejecting a kingdom for the sake of episcopacy; and he made no scruple to assert, that the obstinacy of the late king, on the article of religion, ought rather to be held up as a warning, than produced as an example for his son's imitation [10]. Charles, whose principles were nearly as liber-

A.D. 1650.

10 Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. vi.

tine as those of Buckingham, and of whose character sincerity formed no part, agreed to every thing demanded of him by the covenanters, but not before he had received intelligence of the utter failure of his hopes from the Scottish royalists, in consequence of the total defeat and capture of the marquis of Montrose.

That gallant nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired to the continent, where he resided some time inactive, and afterward entered into the imperial service. But no sooner did he hear of the tragical death of his sovereign, than his ardent spirit was inflamed with the thirst of revenge; and having obtained from young Charles a renewal of his commission of captain-general in Scotland, he set sail for that country with five hundred foreign adventurers. Naturally confident, he hoped to rouse the royalists to arms, and restore his master's authority, at least in one of his kingdoms. These expectations, however, were ill-founded. Scotland was wholly under the dominion of Montrose's old enemies, Argyle and the covenanters, who had severely punished many of his former adherents. They were apprised of his design; and they had a disciplined army ready to oppose him, of such a force as left him no reasonable prospect of success. By a detachment from this army, Montrose and the few royalists who had joined him were attacked, and totally routed. They were all either killed or made prisoners; the marquis himself, who had put on the disguise of a peasant, being delivered into the hands of his enemies by Mackland of Assin, to whom he had entrusted his person [11].

The covenanters carried their noble prisoner in triumph to Edinburgh, where he was exposed to the most atrocious insults. After being conducted through the public streets, bound down on a high bench in a cart made for the purpose, with his hat off, the hangman by him, and his officers walking two and two in fetters behind him, he

11 Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. vi.

was brought before the parliament. Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to suffer condign punishment. Montrose, who bore all these indignities with the greatest firmness, and looked down with a manly scorn on the rancour of his enemies, boldly replied, that in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard; that no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle, and many persons were now in his eye—many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him—whose lives, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers; that he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of a faithful subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and insulted; that, as for himself, he despised their vindictive fanatical rage, and was only grieved at the contumely offered to that authority by which he acted[12].

This speech, so worthy of the heroic character of Montrose, had no effect on his unfeeling judges. Without regard to his illustrious birth or great renown, the man who had so remarkably distinguished himself by adhering to the laws of his country and the rights of his sovereign was condemned to suffer the ignominious death allotted to the basest felon. His sentence bore, that he, James Graham, should be carried to the cross of Edinburgh, and there hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high; that his head should be cut off on a scaffold, and fixed on the Tolbooth, or city prison; that his legs and arms should be exposed in the four chief towns of the kingdom, and his body be buried in the place appropriated for malefactors. The last part of his sentence, however, was to be remitted, if

12 Burnet, vol. i.—Hume, vol. vii.

he should so far repent as to induce the kirk to take off his excommunication. Furnished with so good a pretence, the clergy flocked about him, and exulted over his fallen fortunes, under colour of converting him. He smiled at their enthusiastic ravings, and rejected their spiritual aid: nor did he regard the solemnity with which they pronounced his eternal damnation, or their assurance that his future sufferings would surpass the present, as far in degree as in duration. He showed himself, through the whole process, superior to his fate; and when led to execution, amid the insults of his enemies, he overawed the cruel with the dignity of his looks, and melted the humane into tears.

In this last melancholy scene, when enmity itself is usually disarmed, another effort was made, by the governing party in Scotland, to subdue the magnanimous spirit of Montrose. The executioner was ordered to tie about his neck, with a cord, that book which had been published in elegant Latin, by Dr. Wishart, containing the history of his military exploits. He thanked his enemies for their officious zeal; declaring, that he wore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the Garter; and finding they had no more insults to offer, he patiently submitted to the ignominious

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sentence[13]. Thus unworthily perished the illustrious marquis of Montrose, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Great talents he certainly had for war, and also for the polite arts, which he cultivated with success; but his courage appears to have been accompanied with a certain degree of extravagance, which, while it led him to conceive the boldest enterprises, prevented him from attending sufficiently to the means of accomplishing them. With Montrose were sacrificed all the persons, of any eminence, who had repaired to his standard, or taken arms in order to second his designs.

Though this cruel and unjust execution of a nobleman

13 Burnet, vol. i.—Hume, vol. vii.

who had acted by royal authority made the young king more sensible of the furious spirit of the covenanters, as well as how little he had to expect from their generosity, his forlorn condition induced him to ratify the agreement with their commissioners, as the only resource left for recovering any part of his dominions. He accordingly embarked with them for Scotland, in a Dutch ship of war, furnished by the prince of Orange, and arrived safe in the frith of Cromartie. Here his humiliations began. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the covenant, and to hear many sermons and lectures on the duty of persevering in that holy confederacy. The duke of Hamilton, formerly earl of Lanerk, the earl of Lauderdale, and other noblemen who had shared his confidence abroad, and whom the covenanters called *Engagers*, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their own houses. None of his English courtiers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; so that he found himself in the hands of Argyle and the rigid presbyterians, by whom he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty [14].

To please these austere zealots, Charles embraced a measure, which neither his inexperienced youth nor the necessity of his affairs could fully justify. At their request, he published a declaration, which must have rendered him contemptible even to the fanatics who framed it: and yet his refusal might have been attended with very serious consequences. He gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snares of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He professed to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because his father had followed wicked measures, had

14 Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. vi.

opposed the covenant and the work of reformation, and shed the blood of God's people throughout his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a heinous provocation of *a jealous God, who visits the sins of the father upon the children.* He declared that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them, in any part of his dominions[15].

This declaration had not the desired effect. The covenanters and the clergy were still diffident of the king's sincerity; and their suspicions were increased when they compared his education, and the levity of his character, with the solemn protestations he had so readily made. They had therefore prepared other trials for him. They proposed that he should go through a public penance before his coronation:—and even to this indignity Charles had consented. In the power of these bigots, he found his authority annihilated. He was not called to assist at any public council, and his favour was sufficient to discredit any candidate for office or preferment. The same jealousy rendered abortive all his attempts to reconcile the opposite parties. The marquis of Argyle artfully eluded all the king's advances toward a coalition. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be objects of general hatred and persecution; and all who were obnoxious to the clergy were branded with one or other of these epithets[16].

The animosities among the parties in Scotland were so violent, that the approach of an English army was not sufficient to allay them. The progress of that army it must now be our business to observe.

The English parliament, informed of the issue of the

15 Sir Edward Walker's *Historical Discourses.*—Burnet, vol. i.

16 Sir E. Walker's *Discourses.*

negotiations at Breda, immediately recalled Cromwell from Ireland, and made vigorous preparations for hostilities, which it was foreseen would prove inevitable between the two British kingdoms. Ireton was left to govern Ireland, in the character of deputy; and as Fairfax was still commander-in-chief of the forces in England, it was expected that he, assisted by Oliver, would conduct the war against Scotland. But although Fairfax had permitted the army to make use of his name in offering violence to the parliament, and in murdering his sovereign, he could not be prevailed upon to bear arms against his covenanted brethren; so inconsistent are the ideas of fanatics in regard to moral duty!

Cromwell, on this occasion, acted the part of a profound hypocrite. Being sent as one of a committee of parliament, to overcome the scruples of Fairfax, (with whose rigid inflexibility, in every thing that he regarded as a matter of principle, Oliver was well acquainted) he went so far as to shed tears, seemingly of grief and vexation, in the affected earnestness of his solicitations. But all his endeavours failed: Fairfax resigned his commission: and Cromwell, whose ambition no one could suspect, after he had laboured so zealously to retain his superior in the chief command, was declared captain-general of all the forces in England[17]. This was the greatest step he had yet made toward sovereignty, such a command being of the utmost consequence in a commonwealth that stood solely by arms. Fully sensible of his increased importance, the new general instantly assembled his forces; and before the Scots had signified any intention of asserting the right of Charles to the crown of England, he entered their country with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, who had begun to levy troops, on being threatened with an invasion, now doubled their diligence, and soon brought together a considerable army. David

17 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

Leslie, the general, formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, after having taken care to remove from the counties between Berwick and Edinburgh every thing that could serve to subsist the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottish camp, and tried, by every provocation, to bring Leslie to a battle, but without effect. The prudent Scot, aware that, though superior in number, his army was inferior in discipline to the enemy, remained within his entrenchments; so that Oliver, reduced to distress for want of provisions, and harassed by continual skirmishes, was obliged to retire to Dunbar, where his fleet lay at anchor. The Scots followed him, and encamped on the heights which overlook that town. Cromwell seemed now on the brink of ruin or disgrace. He was conscious of his danger, and is said to have formed the desperate resolution of sending his foot and artillery by sea to Newcastle, and of attempting, at all hazards, to force his way with his cavalry. But in this he would have found the utmost trouble, as Leslie had taken possession of all the difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick: and could he even have accomplished his retreat, it would have occasioned, in the present unsettled disposition of men's minds, a general insurrection for the king in England[18].

But the enthusiastic zeal of the Scottish clergy relieved Cromwell from all his difficulties. They had ordered the king to leave the camp, on finding that the soldiery began to testify an attachment toward him; and they had likewise carefully purged it of a large body of *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose loyalty had led them to attend their young sovereign, and who were men of the greatest credit and military appearance in the nation. They now thought they had an army composed wholly of saints; and so confident were they of success, that, after wrestling all

18 Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. vi.—Whitelocke, p. 471.

night with the Lord in prayer, they forced Leslie, in spite of his earnest remonstrances, to descend into the plain, in order to smite the *sectarian* host. Cromwell, who had also been seeking the Lord in his way, and had felt great *enlargement* of *heart* in *prayer*, seeing the Scots in motion, was elate with holy transport. "God," cried he, "is delivering them into our hands: they are coming "down to us!" He accordingly commanded his army to advance singing psalms, in proof of his perfect assurance of victory, and fell upon the Scots before they were disposed in order of battle, after descending the hill. They were quickly thrown into confusion, and totally routed. About three thousand fell in the battle and pursuit, and about twice that number were taken prisoners. Cromwell, improving his advantage, made himself master of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling[19]. An ague, and the approach of winter, prevented him from extending his conquests before the close of the campaign.

Sept. 3.

The defeat at Dunbar, which broke the power and brought down the spiritual pride of the covenanters, who reproached their God with the slaughter of his elect, and accused him of having deceived them by false revelations, was by no means disagreeable to the king. He considered the armies that fought on both sides as almost equally his enemies; and he hoped that the vanquished, for their own preservation, would now be obliged to allow him some portion of authority. He was not deceived. The Scottish parliament, which met soon after at Perth, agreed to admit Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the *Engagers*, to share in the civil and military employments of the kingdom, on their doing public penance. Some *Malignants*, or episcopal royalists, also crept in among them:

19 Id. ibid.—Sir E. Walker's *Disc.*—Ludlow's *Mem.* vol. i.

A. D. 1651. and the king's intended penance was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Scone[20].

But Charles, amid all this appearance of respect, was still in a condition that very ill suited his temper and disposition. He remained in the hands of the most rigid covenanters, and was in a predicament little better than that of a prisoner. Exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the presbyterian clergy, and obliged to listen to prayers and sermons from morn to night, he had no opportunity for the display of his agreeable qualities; and could not avoid betraying, amid so many objects of ridicule and disgust, occasional symptoms of weariness and contempt. For, although artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, he could never mould his features into that starched grimace which the covenanters regarded as the infallible sign of conversion. His spiritual guides, therefore, never thought him sufficiently regenerated, but were continually striving to bring him into a more perfect state of grace[21].

Shocked at these indignities, and weary of confinement, Charles attempted to regain his liberty, by joining a body of royalists, who promised to support him. He accordingly made his escape from Argyle and the covenanters; but being pursued by colonel Montgomery and a troop of horse, he was induced to return, on finding the royalists less powerful than he expected. This elopement, however, had a good effect. The king was afterwards better treated, and intrusted with more authority; the covenanters being afraid of renewing their rigours, lest he should embrace some desperate measure[22].

When the Scottish army had re-assembled, under Hamilton and Leslie, Charles was allowed to join the camp. But, imminent as the danger was, the Scots were still divided by ecclesiastical disputes. The forces of the western

20 Burnet.—Walker. 21 Burnet, vol. i. 22 Id. ibid.

counties, disclaiming the authority of the parliament, would not act in conjunction with an army that admitted any *Engagers* or *Malignants* among them. They called themselves the *Protesters*, and the other party were denominated the *Resolutioners*—distinctions which continued to agitate the kingdom with theological hatred and animosity[23].

Charles, having put himself at the head of his troops, encamped in a very advantageous situation. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the plentiful county of Fife supplied him with provisions. His front, to which the English army advanced, was defended by strong entrenchments; and his soldiers, as well as his generals, being rendered more deliberately cautious by experience, Cromwell in vain attempted to draw them from their posts by offering them battle. After the two armies had faced each other about six weeks, Cromwell sent a detachment over the Forth, to cut off the king's provisions; and so intent was he on that object, that, losing sight of all beside, he passed over with his whole army, and effectually accomplished his purpose. The king found it impossible to keep his post; and, in this emergency, he embraced a resolution worthy of a prince contending for empire. He boldly marched into England, with an army of fourteen thousand men. Cromwell, whose mind was more vigorous than comprehensive, was surprised and alarmed at this movement. But, if he had been guilty of an error, in his eagerness to distress his enemy, he took the most effectual means to repair it. He dispatched Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army; he left Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland; and he himself followed the king with all possible expedition.

Charles had reason to expect, from the hatred which prevailed against the parliament, that his presence would produce a general insurrection in England. But he found him-

23 Burnet, vol. i.

self disappointed. The English presbyterians, having no notice of his design, were not prepared to join him; and the cavaliers, or old royalists, to whom his approach was equally unknown, were farther deterred from such a measure, by the necessity of subscribing the covenant. Both parties were overawed by the militia of the counties, which the parliament had, every where, authority sufficient to raise. National antipathy had also its influence: and the king found, when he arrived at Worcester, that his forces were little more numerous than when he left the borders of Scotland. Cromwell, with thirty thousand men, attacked Worcester on all sides; and Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and giving proofs of personal valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The duke of Hamilton, who made a desperate resistance, was mortally wounded, and the Scots were almost all either killed or taken. Of the prisoners, who amounted to eight thousand, a great number were sold as slaves to the American planters[24].

When the king left Worcester, he was attended by Leslie and a party of horse; but seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and fearing they could not reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three friends, from whom he also separated himself, after making them cut off his hair, that he might the better effect his escape, in an unknown character. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel, a solitary house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderel, an obscure but honest farmer. Here he continued for some days, in the disguise of a peasant, employed in cutting faggots with the farmer and his three brothers. One day, for better concealment, he mounted a spreading oak; among the thick branches of which he sheltered himself, while several persons passed below in search of

24 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

their unhappy sovereign, and expressed, in his hearing, their earnest desire of seising him, that they might deliver him into the hands of his father's murderers[25].

An attempt to relate all the romantic adventures of Charles, before he completed his escape, would lead me into details that could only serve to gratify an idle curiosity. But there is one other anecdote that must not be omitted, as it shows, in a strong light, the loyalty and liberal spirit of the English gentry, even in those times of general rebellion and fanaticism.

The king having met with lord Wilmot, near Boscobel, they agreed to throw themselves upon the fidelity of Mr. Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at a short distance. By the contrivance of this gentleman, who treated them with great respect and cordiality, they were enabled to reach the sea-coast; the king riding, on the same horse, before Mr. Lane's daughter to Bristol, in the character of a servant. But, when Charles arrived there, he was informed that no ship would sail from that port, either for France or Spain, for more than a month: he was therefore obliged to look elsewhere in quest of a passage. In the mean time he entrusted himself to colonel Wyndham of Dorsetshire, a gentleman of distinguished loyalty. Wyndham, before he received the king, asked leave to impart the secret to his mother. The request was granted; and that venerable matron, on being introduced to her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that, having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandson in defence of his father, she was still reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in *his* preservation. The colonel himself told Charles, that his father, sir Thomas, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons, and said, "My children! you have hitherto seen "serene and quiet times; but I must warn you now to

25 This tree was afterwards called the *Royal Oak*, and was long regarded with great veneration by the people in the neighbourhood.

"prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every "side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native coun- "try. But whatever may happen, do you faithfully ho- "nour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. "I charge you never to forsake the *crown*, though it should "*hang* upon a *bush*!"—"These last words," added Wyndham, "made such impression on our breasts, that "the many afflictions of these sad times could never "efface their indelible characters[26]."

While the king remained at the house of colonel Wyndham, all his friends in Britain, and over Europe, were held in the most anxious suspense, with respect to his fate. No one could conjecture what was become of him, or whether he was dead or alive; but a report of his death, being generally credited, happily relaxed the search of his enemies. Many attempts were made to procure a vessel for his escape, though without success. He was obliged to shift his quarters, to assume new disguises, and entrust himself to other friends, who all gave proofs of incorruptible fidelity and attachment. At last a vessel was found at Shoreham in Sussex, where he embarked, and arrived safely at Fescamp, in Normandy, after having been concealed for one-and-forty days, during which the secret of his life had been entrusted to forty persons[27].

The battle of Worcester, which utterly extinguished the hopes of the royalists, afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy*[28]; an immediate prospect of that sovereignty which had long been the object of his ambition. Extravagantly elate with his good fortune, he would have knighted in the field of victory Lambert and Fleetwood, two of his generals, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends from exercising that act of regal authority[29]. Every place now submitted to the arms of the commonwealth, not only in Great Britain, Ireland, and

26 Clarendon.—*Elench. Mot.*—Heath's *Chron.*

27 Clarendon.—Heath. 28 *Parl. Hist.* 29 Whitelocke, p. 523.

the neighbouring islands, but also on the continent of America, and in the East and West Indies; so that the parliament had soon leisure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour against foreign nations. The Dutch first felt the weight of its vengeance.

The independence of the united Provinces being secured by the treaty of Munster, that republic was at this time the greatest commercial state in Europe. The English had long been jealous of the prosperity of the Hollanders; but the common interests of religion, for a time, and afterward the alliance between the house of Stuart and the family of Orange, prevented any rupture between the two nations. This alliance had also led the states to favour the royal cause, during the civil wars in England, and to overlook the murder of Dorislaus, one of the regicides, who had been assassinated at the Hague by the followers of Montrose. But after the death of William II. prince of Orange, who was carried off by the small-pox, when he was on the point of enslaving the people whom his ancestors had restored to liberty, greater respect was shown to the English commonwealth by the government party in Holland, which was chiefly composed of violent republicans. Through the influence of that party, a perpetual edict was published against the dignity of stadtholder. Encouraged by this revolution, the English parliament thought the season favourable for cementing a close confederacy with the States; and St. John, who was sent over to the Hague, in the character of plenipotentiary, had entertained the idea of forming such a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their interests inseparable. But their High Mightinesses, unwilling to enter into such a solemn treaty with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed yet precarious, offered only to renew their former alliance with England: and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at some affronts which had been put upon him by the retainers of the Pa-

latine and Orange families, returned to London with a determined resolution of taking advantage of the national jealousy, in order to excite a quarrel between the two commonwealths[30].

The parliament entered into the resentment of its ambassador; and, through his influence, in conjunction with that of Cromwell, was framed and passed the famous *Act of Navigation*, which provided, among other regulations, that no goods should be imported into England, from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships, nor from any part of Europe, except in vessels belonging to that country of which the goods were the growth or manufacture. This act, though necessary and truly politic as a domestic measure, and general in its restrictions on foreign powers, particularly affected the Dutch, as was foreseen; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsisted and still subsist chiefly by being the carriers and factors of other nations. A mutual jealousy, accompanied with mutual injuries, ensued between the republics; and a fierce naval war, ultimately occasioned by a dispute about the honour of the flag, was the consequence.

Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, had received from the states the command of a fleet of forty sail, to protect the Dutch merchantmen against the English privateers. He was forced, as he pretended, by stress of weather, into the road of Dover, where he met with the celebrated Blake, who commanded an English fleet of only fifteen sail. Elate with his superiority, the Dutch commander, instead of obeying the signal to strike his flag, according to ancient custom, in the presence of an English man-of-war, is said to have poured a broadside into the admiral's ship. Blake boldly returned the salute,

A.D. 1652.

30 The duke of York being then at the Hague, St. John had the presumption, in a public walk, to dispute the precedency with him. Fired at this insult, the prince Palatine pulled off the ambassador's hat, and bade him respect the son and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his sword, and refused to acknowledge either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the prince, the proud republican was obliged to seek refuge in his lodgings. Basnage, p. 218.

notwithstanding his slender force; and, being afterward joined by a squadron of eight sail, he maintained a spirited conflict for four hours, took one of the enemy's ships, and sunk another.

Several other engagements ensued, without any decisive advantage. At length Van Tromp, seconded by the famous De Ruyter, met near the Godwin Sands with the English fleet commanded by Blake; who, although considerably inferior in force, did not decline the combat. A furious encounter took place, in which the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted uncommon bravery: but the Dutch were ultimately conquerors. Two English ships were taken, two burned, and one sunk.

After this victory Tromp, in bravado, fixed a broom to the top of his main-mast, as if determined to sweep the sea of all English vessels. But he was not suffered long to enjoy his triumph. Great preparations were made in England to avenge so mortifying an insult, and recover the honour of the flag. A fleet of eighty sail was speedily fitted out. Blake was again invested with the chief command, having under him Dean and Monk, two worthy associates.

While the English admiral lay off Portland, February 18, 1653. he descried a Dutch fleet of seventy-six ships of war, sailing up the Channel, with two hundred merchantmen under its convoy. This fleet was commanded by Van Tromp and De Ruyter, who intrepidly prepared themselves to combat their old antagonist, and support that glory which they had acquired. The battle that ensued was accordingly the most furious that had been fought between the hostile powers. For two days was the contest maintained with the utmost rage and obstinacy: on the third the Dutch gave way, and yielded the sovereignty of the ocean to its natural lords. Tromp, however, by a masterly retreat, saved all the merchant-

men except thirty; but he lost eleven ships of war, and had two thousand men killed[31].

After this signal overthrow, the naval power of the Dutch seemed, for a time, to be almost annihilated, and their trade was severely injured. Above fifteen hundred of their ships had fallen, during the course of the war, into the hands of the English seamen. Convinced at last of the necessity of submission, they resolved to gratify the pride of the English parliament by soliciting peace. But their advances were treated with disdain. It was not therefore without pleasure that the states received an account of the dissolution of the haughty assembly.

The cause of this dissolution it is our business to investigate, and to relate the circumstances with which it was accompanied.

The zealous republicans, who had long entertained a well-founded jealousy of the ambitious views of Cromwell, took every opportunity of extolling the advantages of the fleet, while they endeavoured to discredit the army; and, insisting on the intolerable expence to which the nation was subjected, they now urged the necessity of a reduction of the land forces. That able commander and artful politician, who clearly saw, from the whole of their proceedings, that they were afraid of his power and meant to reduce it, boldly resolved to prevent them, by realising their apprehensions. He immediately summoned a council of officers; and, as most of them owed their advancement to his favour, and relied upon him for their future preferment, he found them entirely devoted to his will. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the parliament, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanding a new representative body. The commons were offended at this liberty, and came to a resolution not to dissolve the parliament, but to fill up their number by new elections.

31 Burchet's *Naval History*.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

Enraged at such obstinacy, Cromwell hastened to the house with three hundred soldiers; some of whom he placed at the door, some in the lobby, and some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, telling him he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, he added, for the glory of God, and the good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates. Afterward starting up suddenly, as if under the influence of inspiration or insanity, he loaded the parliament with the keenest reproaches, for its tyranny, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame!" said he to the members, "get you gone! "and give place to honest men; to those who will more "faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a "parliament! I tell you, you are no longer a parliament! "The Lord hath done with you: he hath chosen other "instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Henry Vane remonstrating against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed with a loud voice, "Oh, sir Harry Vane! sir Harry Vane! "the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" words by which it should seem that he wished some of the soldiers to dispatch him. Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whore-master!" said he; to another, "Thou "art an adulterer!" to a third, "Thou art a drunkard "and glutton!" and to a fourth, "Thou art an extor-"tioner!" He commanded a soldier to seise the mace, saying, "What shall we do with *this bauble*?—Here, take it "away!—It is you," added he, addressing himself to the members, "that have forced me to proceed thus. I have "sought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather "slay me than put me upon this work!" And, having previously commanded the soldiers to clear the house, he

April 20.

ordered the door to be locked, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings in Whitehall [32].

Thus, my dear Philip, did Oliver Cromwell, in a manner so suitable to his general character, and without bloodshed, annihilate the very shadow of the parliament; and by this daring step he acquired the whole civil and military power of the three kingdoms. And dispassionate reasoners, of all parties, *who had successively enjoyed the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries they had reciprocally suffered revenged on their enemies*, were at last made sensible, that licentious liberty, under whatever pretence its violences may be covered, must inevitably end in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person. Nor were the people, considered as a body, displeased at the violent usurpation of Cromwell, from whom they expected more lenity than from the imperious republicans.

This extraordinary man, who now lorded it over his fellow-subjects, was born of a good family at Huntingdon. His education was liberal; but his genius being little fitted for the elegant and tranquil pursuits of literature, he made no great proficiency in his studies, either at school or at the university of Cambridge. He even threw himself into a dissolute course of life, when sent to study the law in one of the inns of court, and consumed the earlier years of his manhood in gaming, drinking, and debauchery. But suddenly, he was seised with religious qualms; affected a grave and sanctified behaviour, and was soon distinguished among the puritanical party, by the fervour of his devotional exercises. To repair his injured fortune, which never had been very considerable, he betook himself to farming; but he spent so much time with his family in prayers, that this new occupation served only to involve him in greater difficulties. His spiritual reputation, how-

32 Whitelocke, p. 554.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Clarendon, vol. vi.—Hume, vol. vii.

ever, was so high, that, notwithstanding the low state of his temporal affairs, he found means to be chosen a member of the Long Parliament. The ardour of his zeal frequently prompted him to speak in the house; but he was not heard with attention; his person being ungraceful, his voice untunable, his elocution embarrassed, and his speeches tedious, obscure, confused, and often unintelligible. But, as a profound thinker very justly observes, there are, amidst the variety of human geniuses, some who, though they see their objects clearly and distinctly in general, yet when they come to unfold their ideas in discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception which they had before attained.

Never was this philosophical truth more fully exemplified than in the character of Oliver Cromwell, whose actions were as decisive, prompt, and judicious, as his speeches were wavering, prolix, and inconclusive. Nor were his written compositions much superior to his speeches; the great defect of both consisting, not in the want of expression, but in the seeming want of ideas. Yet Cromwell, though he had entered his forty-fourth year before he embraced the military profession, soon became an excellent officer, without the help of a master. He first raised a troop, and then a regiment of horse; and it was he who instituted that discipline, and infused that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary forces in the end victorious. He introduced and recommended the practice of enlisting the sons of farmers and freeholders, instead of the debauched and enervated inhabitants of great cities or manufacturing towns. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded; and inspired, first his own regiment, and afterward the whole army, with the wildest and boldest enthusiasm. The steps by which he rose to high command, and attained to sovereignty, we have already had occasion to trace. Let us now view him in the exercise of his authority.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he had three parties in the nation against him; the royalists, the presbyterians, and the republicans. But as each of these had a violent antipathy against both the others, none of them could become formidable to the army: and the republicans, whom he had dethroned, and whose resentment he had most occasion to fear, were farther divided among themselves. Besides the independents, they consisted of two sets of men, who had a great contempt for each other; namely, the Millenarians, or *fifth-monarchy men*, who were in expectation of the second coming of Christ; and the Deists, who utterly denied the truth of revelation, and considered the tenets of the various sects as alike founded in folly and error. The Deists were peculiarly obnoxious to Cromwell, partly from a belief in Christianity (which he retained amidst all his atrocities), but chiefly because he could have no hold of them by enthusiasm. He therefore treated them with great rigour, and usually denominated them the *Heathens*[33]. The heads of this small division were Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Chaloner, Martin, Wildman, and Harrington; men whose abilities might have rendered them dangerous, had not the freedom of their opinions excited the indignation of all parties[34].

Cromwell paid more attention to the Millenarians, who

33 Burnet, vol. i.

34 Each of the other sects wished to erect a spiritual as well as a temporal dominion; but the Deists, who acted only on the principles of civil liberty, were for abolishing the very appearance of a national church, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. (Burnet, vol. i.) Such a project was particularly alarming to the spiritual pride of the presbyterians, who, since the signing of the covenant, had considered their religion as the hierarchy. And Cromwell not only quieted them on this head, by assuring them that he would still maintain a public ministry with all due encouragement, but even in some measure conciliated their affections by joining them in a commission with some independents, to be examiners of those who were to be admitted to benefices, and also to dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedrals. (Id. ibid.) The episcopalians were merely tolerated.

had great interest in the army, and whose narrow understanding and enthusiastic temper afforded full scope for the exercise of his pious deceptions. These men, while they anxiously expected the *second coming* of Christ, believed that the saints, among whom they considered themselves as standing in the first class, alone had a right to govern in the mean time. Cromwell, in conformity with this way of thinking, told them he had only stepped in between the *living* and the *dead*, to keep the nation, during that interval, from becoming a prey to the *common enemy*[35]. And in order to show them how willing he was they should share his power, since God in his providence had thrown the whole load of government upon his shoulders, he sent writs, by the advice of his council of officers, to a hundred and twenty-eight persons, chiefly gifted men, of different towns and counties of England and Wales; to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland. To these illiterate enthusiasts, chosen by himself, he pretended to commit the whole authority of the state, under the denomination of the parliament; and as one of the most active and illuminated among them, a leather-seller in London, bore the name of *Praise-God Barebone*, this contemptible assembly was ludicrously called *Barebone's Parliament*[36].

July 4.

Cromwell told these fanatical legislators, on their first meeting, that he never looked to see such a day when Christ should be so owned[37]: and they, elate with the important dignity to which they supposed themselves exalted, as well as encouraged by the overflowings of the Holy Spirit, thought it their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer[38]. Meanwhile the Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into a negotiation with them: but, although protestants, and even presbyterians,

35 Burnet, vol. i.
36 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.
37 Milton's *State Papers*, p. 106.
38 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

they met with an unfriendly reception from senators who had pretensions to such superior sanctity; being regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and industry; and whom it was proper that the saints should extirpate, before they undertook the subduing of Antichrist, the *Man of Sin*, and the extending of the Redeemer's kingdom to the farthest corners of the earth[39]. The ambassadors, who were strangers to such wild doctrines, remained in astonishment, at finding themselves regarded as the enemies, not of England, but of Christ!

Even Cromwell himself began to be ashamed of the pageant he had set up as a legislature, and with which he meant only to amuse the populace and the army. But what particularly displeased him was, that the members of this enthusiastic parliament, though they derived their authority solely from him, began to pretend powers from the Lord[40]; and as he had been careful to summon in his writs several persons warm in his interest, he hinted to some of them, that the continuance of such a parliament would be of no service to the nation. They accordingly met sooner than usual, as had been concerted; and repairing, with Rous, the speaker, to the council of officers, declared themselves unequal to the task which they had unwarily undertaken, and resigned their delegated power. But general Harrison, and about twenty other fanatics, remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and were preparing to draw up protests, when they were interrupted by colonel White and a party of soldiers. The colonel asked them, what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they.—"Then you may go elsewhere," replied he; "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here "these many years[41]."

39 Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273, 391.
40 Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393.
41 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx.

The council of officers, by virtue of that pretended power which the mock parliament had resigned into their hands, now voted, that it was necessary to temper the liberty of a republic by the authority of a single person. And being in possession of that argument which silences all others, namely force, they prepared what was called the *Instrument of Government*, and declared Oliver Cromwell *Protector*, or supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, the name of king being still odious in their ears. He was accordingly conducted to Whitehall with great solemnity, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him: he was honoured with the title of *Highness*; and, having taken the oath required of him, he was proclaimed in the three kingdoms without the smallest opposition[42]. Dec. 16.

The chief articles in the instrument of government were, that the protector should be assisted by a council of state, which should not consist of more than twenty-one, or of less than thirteen persons; that in his name all justice should be administered, and from him all honours derived; that he should have the right of peace and war, and enjoy the power of the sword jointly with the parliament while sitting, and, during the intervals, with the council of state; that he should summon a parliament once in three years, and allow it to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution[43]. The council of state, named in the instrument, consisted of fifteen persons, strongly attached to the protector; who, in case of a vacancy, had the power of choosing one out of three presented by the remaining members[44]. He had, therefore, little reason to apprehend any opposition from them in the arbitrary exercise of his authority. An implicit submission to some first magistrate, it must be owned,

42 Clarendon.—Whitelocke. 43 Whitelocke—*Parl. Hist.*
44 Whitelocke.

had become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the people from relapsing into civil slaughter; so that we may partly admit Cromwell's plea of the *public good*, as an apology for his usurpation; though we should not give entire credit to his declaration, that he would rather have taken a *shepherd's staff* than the *protectorship*[45].

While Cromwell was thus completing his usurpation over his fellow-subjects, he did not neglect the honour or the interests of the nation. Never did England appear more formidable than during his administration. A fleet of a hundred sail was fitted out, under the command of Monk and Dean. They met with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, near the coast of Flanders; and the officers and seamen, on both sides, fired with emulation, and animated with the desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean, disputed the victory with the most fierce and obstinate courage. Though Dean was killed in the heat of the action, the Dutch were obliged to retire, with great loss, after a battle of two days; and as Blake had joined his countrymen with eighteen sail, toward the close of the engagement, the English fleet lay off the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of the republic.

June 2.

45 Burnet, vol. i.—Cowley's observations on this subject are more sprightly than sound. "The government was broken," says he: "Who broke it? It was dis-"solved: Who dissolved it? It was extinguished—Who was it but Cromwell, who "not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man "should *murder* a *whole family*, and then possess himself of the *whole house*; be-"cause it is *better that he*, than that only *rats* should *live there!*" (*Discourse on the Gov. of Ol. Crom.*) The reflections of Hobbes, on the necessity of the submission of the people in such emergency, are more pertinent. "The *obligation* of *subjects* "to the *sovereign* is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the *power* lasteth "by which he is able to *protect them*; for the *right* men have *by nature* to *protect* "*themselves, when none else can protect them*, can by no *covenant* be *relinquished*. "The *sovereignty* is the *soul* of the *commonwealth*, which, once departed from the "*body*, the *members* do no more receive their *motion from it*. The *end* of *obedi-*"*ence* is PROTECTION; which *wheresoever a man seeth*, nature applieth his *obedi-*"*ence to that power*, and his *endeavour* to *maintain it*." *Leviathan*, p. 114, fol. edit.

But the states made one effort more to retrieve the honour of their flag; and never, on any occasion, did their vigour appear more conspicuous. They not only repaired and manned their fleet in a few weeks, but launched and rigged some ships of a larger size than any they had hitherto sent to sea. With this new armament Tromp issued forth, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than yield the contest. He soon met with the English fleet, commanded by Monk; and the battle raged from morning till night, without any sensible advantage in favour of either party. Next day the action was continued, and the setting sun beheld the contest undecided. The third morning the struggle was renewed; and victory seemed still doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, July 31. was shot through the heart with a musquet ball. That event at once decided the sovereignty of the ocean. The Dutch lost twenty-five ships, and were glad to purchase a peace, by yielding to the English the honour A. D. 1654. of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them[46].

This successful conclusion of the Dutch war, which strengthened Cromwell's authority both at home and abroad, encouraged him to summon a free parliament, according to a stipulation in the instrument of government. He took the precaution, however, to exclude all the royalists who had borne arms for the king, and all their sons. Thirty members were returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. But the protector was soon sensible, that even this circumscribed freedom of election was incompatible with his usurped dominion. The new parliament began its deliberations with questioning his right to that authority which he had assumed over the nation. Cromwell saw his mistake, and endeavoured to correct it. Enraged at the refractory spirit of the commons, he sent

46 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

for them to the Painted Chamber; where, after inveighing against their conduct, and endeavouring to show the absurdity of disputing the legality of that instrument by which they were convoked, he required them to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament: and he placed guards at the door of the lower house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter[47]. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this despotism; but, as they retained the same independent spirit which they had discovered at their first meeting, Cromwell resolved to put an end to their debates. He accordingly dissolved the parliament, before the expiration of the term prescribed by that instrument of government which he had lately sworn to observe.

Jan. 22, 1655.

The discontents of the parliament communicated themselves to the nation. Sir Henry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the protector; and the royalists observing the general dissatisfaction, without considering the diversity of parties, thought every one had embraced the same views with themselves. They accordingly entered into a conspiracy throughout England; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success. But Cromwell, having information of their purpose, was enabled effectually to defeat it. Many of them were immediately thrown into prison, and the rest were generally discouraged from rising. In one place only the conspiracy broke out into action. Grove, Penruddock, and other gentlemen, proclaimed the king at Salisbury; but they received no accession of force equal to their expectations, and were soon quelled. The chief conspirators were capitally punished, and many of their partisans were transported as slaves to Barbadoes[48].

47 Thurloe, vol. ii.

48 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

The early suppression of this conspiracy more firmly established the protector's authority. It at once showed the turbulent spirit and the impotence of his enemies, and afforded him a plausible pretext for all his tyrannical severities. He resolved no longer to keep any terms with the royalists. With consent of his council, he issued an edict for exacting the tenth penny from the whole party: and, in order to raise that imposition, which commonly passed by the name of *decimation*, he constituted twelve major-generals, and divided England into so many military jurisdictions[49]. These officers, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion. They acted as absolute masters of the liberty and property of every English subject; and thus were the people cruelly subjected to a military and despotic government.

That government, however, directed by the vigorous spirit of Cromwell, gave England a degree of consequence among the European powers which it had never enjoyed since the days of Elizabeth. France and Spain courted the alliance of the protector; and had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, it has been said, he would have endeavoured to preserve that balance of power, on which the welfare of England so much depends, by supporting the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition and rising greatness of the house of Bourbon[50]. But the protector's politics, though sound, were less extensive. An invasion from France, in favour of the royal family, or a rupture with that court, might prove ruinous to his authority, in the present dissatisfied state of England. From Spain he had nothing of equal danger to fear; while he was tempted to begin hostilities, by the prospect of making himself master

49 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. 50 Hume, vol. vii.

of her most valuable possessions in the West Indies, as well as of her plate fleets, by means of the superiority of his naval force. He therefore entered into a negotiation with Mazarine, who, as a sacrifice to the jealous pride of the usurper, gave the English princes notice to leave France. They retired to Cologne: and a close alliance was afterwards concluded between the rival powers; in consequence of which, England, as we have already seen, obtained possession of Dunkirk.

Having resolved on a war with Spain, Cromwell fitted out two formidable fleets, while the neighbouring states remained in anxious suspense, no one being able to conjecture where the blow would fall. One of these fleets, consisting of thirty ships of the line, he sent into the Mediterranean, under the famous admiral Blake; who, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained, from the duke of Tuscany, reparation for some injuries which the English commerce had sustained from that prince. Blake then sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from farther depredations on the English. He presented himself also before Tunis; and when he had there made the same demand, the barbarian ruler of that state desired him to look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake, who needed little to be roused by such a defiance, drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery; while he sent a detachment of sailors in long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship that lay there. The coasts of the Mediterranean, from one extremity to the other, rang with the renown of English valour; and no power, Christian or Mohammedan, dared to oppose the victorious Blake.

The other fleet, commanded by admiral Penn, and which had three thousand soldiers on board, under the direction of general Venables, sailed for the West Indies; where Venables was reinforced with four thousand men from the

islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher. The object of the enterprise was the conquest of Hispaniola, the most valuable island in the American Archipelago. The commanders accordingly resolved to begin with the attack of St. Domingo, the capital, and at that time the only place of strength in the island. On the approach of the English fleet, the intimidated Spaniards abandoned their habitations, and took refuge in the woods; but observing that the troops were imprudently landed at a great distance from the town, and seemed unacquainted with the country, they recovered their spirits; and, falling upon the bewildered invaders, when exhausted with hunger, thirst, and a fatiguing march of two days, in that sultry climate, they put the whole English army to flight, killed six hundred men, and chased the rest to their ships[51]. To atone for this failure, Penn and Venables bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without opposition: yet, on their return to England, the protector, in the first emotions of his disappointment, sent both to the Tower. But Cromwell, although ignorant of the importance of the conquest he had made, took care to support it with men and money[52]; and Jamaica became a valuable accession to the English monarchy.

No sooner was the king of Spain informed of these unprovoked hostilities than he declared war against England, and ordered all the ships and goods, belonging to the English merchants, to be seised throughout his dominions. The Spanish commerce, so profitable to England, was cut off; and a great number of vessels fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor were the losses of the Spaniards less considerable. An English squadron being sent to cruise off Cadiz for the plate fleet, took two galleons richly laden, and set on fire two others, which had run on shore[53]. This success proved an incentive to a bolder, though a less profitable enterprise. Blake, hear-

A.D. 1656.

51 Burchet's *Naval History*.—Thurloe, vol. iii. 52 Id. ibid.

53 Thurloe, vol. iv.

ing that a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail had taken shelter among the Canaries, steered his course thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very strong posture of defence. The bay was secured by a formidable castle, and seven inferior forts, in different parts of it, all united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, had moored his smaller vessels near the shore, and stationed the large galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the sea. Rather animated than intimidated by this hostile appearance, Blake, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed full into the bay, and soon found himself in the midst of his enemies. After a fierce contest, the Spaniards abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure; and the wind fortunately shifting, while the English fleet lay exposed to the fire of the castle and of all the other forts, Blake was enabled to weather the bay, and left the Spaniards in astonishment at his successful temerity[54].

A.D. 1657.

April 21.

These vigorous exertions rendered Cromwell's authority equally respected at home and abroad: and to his honour it must be owned, that his domestic administration was as mild and equitable as his situation would permit. He had again ventured to summon the parliament; but, not trusting to the good will of the people, he employed all his influence to fill the house with his own creatures, and even placed guards at the doors, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council. A majority in his favour being procured by these irregular

54 Burchet's *Naval Hist.*—This was the last and greatest action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and only his zeal for the interests of his country induced him to serve under the usurper. Though he was above forty-four years of age before he entered into the military service, and fifty-one before he acted in the navy, he raised the maritime glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merit, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore testimony to his valour, generosity, and public spirit. *Life of Admiral Blake*, by Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

means, a motion was made for investing him with the dignity of king; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the republicans, a bill to this purpose was voted, and a committee appointed to reason with him, in order to overcome his pretended scruples. The conference lasted for several days; and, although Cromwell's inclination, as well as his judgement, favoured the request of the committee, he found himself obliged to refuse so tempting an offer. Not only the ambitious Lambert, and other officers of the army, were prepared to mutiny on such a revolution, but the protector saw himself ready to be abandoned even by those who were most intimately connected with his family interest. Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, and Desborow his brother-in-law, actuated merely by principle, declared, that, if he should accept the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never serve him more [55].

Cromwell having thus rejected the regal dignity, his friends in parliament found themselves obliged to retain the names of a commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. A new political system, under the appellation of *an humble Petition and Advice*, was accordingly framed by the parliament, and presented to the protector. It differed little from the *Instrument of Government;* but that being the work of the general officers only, was now represented as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself with safety. Cromwell, therefore, accepted the *Petition and Advice*, as the voluntary deed of the whole people of the three united nations; and was again inaugurated in Westminster-hall, with great pomp and ceremony, as if his power had just taken its rise from this popular instrument [56].

55 Thurloe, vol. vi.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Burnet, vol. i.

56 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

Emboldened by the appearance of legal authority, the protector deprived Lambert and other factious officers of their commissions. His son Richard, a man of the most inoffensive, unambitious character, who had hitherto lived contentedly in the country, on a small estate, which he inherited in right of his wife, was now brought to court, introduced to public business, and generally regarded as heir to the protectorship. But the government was yet by no means settled. Cromwell, in consequence of that authority with which he was recently invested, having

A. D. 1658.

summoned a house of peers, or persons who were to act in that capacity, soon found that he had lost his authority among the national representatives, by exalting so many of his friends and adherents to the higher assembly. A decided majority, in the house of commons, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the other house which he had framed, and even questioned the legality of the authority by which it was constituted; as the humble Petition and Advice had been voted by a parliament which lay under constraint, and was deprived by military force of a considerable number of its members. Dreading a combination between the commons and the malcontents in the army, the protector, with many expressions of anger and disappointment, dissolved the

Feb. 4.

parliament[57]. When entreated by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into so rash a measure, he swore by the living God that they should not sit a moment longer, be the consequences what they might.

This violent breach with the parliament left Cromwell no hopes of ever being able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or to temper the military with any considerable mixture of civil authority: and to increase his uneasiness, a conspiracy was formed against him by the Millenarians in the army, under the conduct

57 Whitelocke.

of Harrison and other discarded officers of that party. The royalists too, in conjunction with the heads of the Presbyterians, were encouraged to attempt an insurrection. Both these conspiracies, by his vigilance and activity, the protector was enabled to quell; but the public discontents were so great, that he was under continual apprehensions of assassination. He never moved a step without strong guards: he wore armour under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went: he performed every journey with hurry and precipitation: he seldom lay above three nights together in the same room, and he would not suffer it to be known before-hand in which chamber he intended to pass the night; nor did he trust himself in any apartment that was not provided with a back-door, where sentinels were carefully placed[58].

Equally uneasy in society and solitude, the protector's body began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly to decline. He was seised with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous symptoms; and he at length saw the necessity of turning his eye toward that future state of existence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately present to him, though lately somewhat obscured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatness. Conscious of this, he anxiously asked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never suffer a final reprobation. "On that you may with confi-"dence rely," said Goodwin. "Then I am safe," replied Cromwell; "for I am sure that I once was in a state "of grace!" Elate with new visitations and assurances, he began to believe that his life was out of all danger, not-

58 Ludlow.—Whitelocke.—Batii *Elench.*

withstanding the opinion of the most experienced physicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them, with great emotion,—"I tell you I shall not die of this "disease! Favourable answers have been returned from "Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but also to "those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord[59]."

Notwithstanding this spiritual consolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the last, was no less an enthusiast than a hypocrite, his disorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illusions, while his inspired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to Providence for the undoubted pledges which they received of his recovery[60]!—and on the third of September, the day that had always been esteemed so fortunate to him, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The most striking features of his character I have already delineated, in tracing the progress of his ambition. It can, therefore, only be necessary here to combine the separate sketches, and conclude with some general remarks.

Oliver Cromwell, who died in the sixtieth year of his age, and who had risen from a private station to the absolute sovereignty of three ancient kingdoms, was of a robust but ungraceful make, and of a manly but clownish and disagreeable aspect. The vigour of his genius and the boldness of his spirit, rather than the extent of his understanding or the lustre of his accomplishments, first procured him distinction among his countrymen, and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, have been much over-rated. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violences. The *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the conscien-

59 Batii *Elench. Motuum.*—Thurloe, vol. vii.

60 Id. ibid. Goodwin, who, but a few minutes before the protector expired (says Burnet), had pretended to assure the people, in a prayer, that he was not to die, had afterwards the impudence to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us! and we "are deceived!" *Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i.

tious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preserved without talents; and Cromwell was furnished with such as were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and of concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures, and of commanding the highest respect amid the lowest familiarity[61]. By these talents, and a coincidence of interests, he was able to attach and to manage the military fanatics; and, by their assistance, to subdue the parliament, and tyrannise over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing very extraordinary; for, as a well-known historian observes, an army is so forcible, and at the same time so rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society[62].

61 Among his intimate friends, we are informed, he would frequently relax himself by trifling amusements—by jesting, or making burlesque verses: and he sometimes pushed matters to the length of coarse and rustic buffoonery, such as putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him, blacking their faces, or throwing cushions at them, which they did not fail to return. (Whitelocke. Ludlow. Bates.) It is also affirmed by the same authors, that, when he had a particular point to gain with the army, it was usual for him to take some of the most popular serjeants and corporals to bed with him, and to ply them in that scene of privacy with prayers and religious discourses.

62 Mr. Cowley expresses himself admirably on this subject. "If craft be wisdom, "and dissimulation wit," says he, "I must not deny Cromwell to have been sin-"gular in both; but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that "as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough "to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought they "gained as much by their dissembling as he did by his. His very acting of godli-"ness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think

The moral character of Cromwell is by no means so exceptionable as it is generally represented. On the contrary, it is truly surprising, how he could temper such violent ambition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his most atrocious measure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is possible that, like many others concerned in it, he considered it as the most meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteristic of fanaticism to give a sanction to any measure, however cruel and unjust, that tends to promote its own interests, which are supposed to be the same with those of the Deity; and to which, consequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

" that he excellently represented a woman, though his beard at the same time were " seen by all the spectators. If you ask me why they did not hiss and explode him " off the stage, I can only answer, that they durst not do so, because the actors " and the door-keepers were too strong for the company." (*Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell.*) The military establishment, during Cromwell's administration, seldom consisted of less than forty thousand men. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling, and the horsemen two shillings and six-pence a day. (Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395. vol. ii. p. 414.) This desirable maintenance, at a time when living was much cheaper than at present, induced the sons of farmers and small freeholders to enlist in the army, and proved a better security to the protector's authority than all his canting, praying, and insidious policy. Men who followed so gainful a profession were naturally attached to the person who encouraged it, and disinclined to the re-establishment of civil government, which would render it unnecessary.

Cromwell is said to have annually expended sixty thousand pounds in procuring private intelligence: and it was long supposed that he was intimately acquainted with the secret counsels of all the states of Europe; but, since the publication of Thurloe's *State Papers*, it appears, that this money was chiefly employed in procuring information of the intrigues of the royalists, and that the protector had little intelligence of foreign counsels, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed.

LETTER X.

Continuation of the History of the Commonwealth of England, from the Death of Cromwell to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

IT was generally believed, that Cromwell's arts and policy were exhausted with his life; that having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, he could not much longer have maintained his authority. And when the potent hand, which had hitherto conducted the government of the commonwealth, was removed, every one expected that the unwieldy and ill-constructed machine would fall to pieces. All Europe, therefore, beheld with astonishment his son Richard, an inexperienced and unambitious man, quietly succeed to the protectorship. The council recognised his authority; his brother Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, secured to him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, who still possessed the chief command in Scotland, there proclaimed the new protector without opposition. The fleet, the army, acknowledged his title: he received congratulatory addresses from the counties and most considerable corporations, in terms of the most dutiful allegiance, and foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments; so that Richard, whose moderate temper would have led him to decline any contest for empire, was tempted to accept a sovereignty which seemed to be offered by universal consent.

But this consent, as Richard soon after had occasion to experience, was only a temporary acquiesence, until each party could concert measures, and act effectually for its own interest. On the meeting of the parliament, which it was found necessary to summon, in order to furnish supplies, the new protector found himself involved in inextricable difficulties. The most con-

A. D. 1659.

siderable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Desborow his uncle, who were extremely attached to republican principles, if not to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the saints, began to enter into cabals against him. Overton, Ludlow, Rich, and other officers whom Oliver had discarded, again made their appearance, and also declaimed against the dignity of protector; and Lambert particularly inflamed by his intrigues those dangesous humours, so as to threaten the nation with some great convulsion. As the discontented officers usually met at Fleetwood's apartments, the party was denominated, from the place where he lived, *the Cabal of Wallingford-house*[1].

Richard, who possessed neither vigour nor superior discernment, was prevailed upon, amid these commotions, to give his consent inadvertently to the calling of a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as was pretended, for the good of the army. But they were no sooner assembled than they voted a remonstrance, in which they lamented, that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, was utterly neglected; and proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power should be vested in some person in whom they could all confide. The protector was justly alarmed at these military cabals, and the commons had no less reason to be so. They accordingly voted, that there should be no future meeting, or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought matters to extremity. The officers hastened to Richard, and rudely demanded the dissolution of the parliament. Unable to resist, and wanting resolution to deny, he complied with their request. With the parliament his authority was supposed to expire, and he soon after signed his resignation in form. His brother Henry, though endowed with greater abilities, also quietly resigned the government

April 22.

1 Whitelocke.—Ludlow.

of Ireland[2]. Thus, my dear Philip, fell from an enormous height, but (by rare fortune) without bloodshed, the family of the Cromwells, to that humble station from which they had risen. Richard retired to his estate in the country; and, as he had done hurt to no man, so no man ever attempted to hurt him[3]: a striking instance, as Burnet remarks, of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence!

The council of officers now began to deliberate what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended that the people would with difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleasure, it was thought safer to preserve some shadow of civil authority. They accordingly agreed to revive the *Rump*, or that remnant of the long parliament which had been expelled by Cromwell; in the hope that these members, having already felt their own weakness, would thenceforth be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders.

But in this expectation they were deceived. Though the parliament, without the officers of the army, consisted only of about forty independents (for the presbyterians were still excluded), yet, as these were all men of violent ambition, and some possessed consider- May 7.

2 Whitelocke.—Ludlow.

3 Even after the restoration he remained unmolested. He thought proper, however, to travel for some years; and had frequently the mortification, while in disguise, to hear himself treated as a blockhead, for reaping no greater benefit from his father's crimes. But, being of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, he wisely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When one of his partisans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers, by the death of Lambert, he rejected the proposal with horror. "I never will," said he, "purchase "power or dominion by such sanguinary measures." He lived, in contentment and tranquillity, to an extreme old age, and died near the close of queen Anne's reign. He appears to have had nothing of the enthusiast about him; for we are informed, that, when murmurs had arisen against certain promotions in the army, he smartly replied, "What! would you have me prefer none but the godly? Now here is Dick "Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I trust him before you all!" Ludlow's *Mem.*

able experience and abilities, they resolved, since they enjoyed the title of supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They therefore elected a council, in which they took care that the members of the cabal of Wallingford-house should not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted an express article in his commission, that it should continue only during the pleasure of the house. They chose seven persons, who were to fill up such commands as became vacant; and they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and signed by him in the name of the house[4].

These precautions, the purpose of which was visible, gave great disgust to the principal military officers; and their discontent would, in all probability, have immediately produced some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy. The bulk of the nation now consisted of royalists and presbyterians. To both these parties the dominion of the pretended parliament, and of the army, had become equally obnoxious: a secret reconciliation, therefore, took place between them; and it was agreed, that, former animosities being consigned to oblivion, every possible effort should be made for the overthrow of the Rump, and the restoration of the royal family. A resolution was accordingly taken, in many counties, to rise in arms; and the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with an intention of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects.

But this confederacy was disconcerted by the treachery of sir Richard Willis; who being much trusted by sir Edward Hyde, the king's chief counsellor, and by the principal royalists, was apprised of all the schemes of the

[4] Whitelocke.—Ludlow.—Clarendon.

party. He had been corrupted by Cromwell, whom he enabled to disconcert every enterprise against his usurped authority, by confining, before hand, the persons who were to be the actors in it; and he continued the same traitorous correspondence with the parliament, without suspicion or discovery [5]. The protector, and Thurloe his secretary, now secretary to the parliament, were alone acquainted with his treachery [6]; and by the penetration and craft of Moreland, Thurloe's under-secretary, the whole was at last discovered in sufficient time to put the king on his guard, though not to prevent the failure of the concerted insurrection. Many of the conspirators were thrown into prison; and the only considerable party that had taken arms (under sir George Booth, who was not seasonably informed of the treachery of Willis), and which had seised Chester, was dispersed by a body of troops under Lambert [7].

Lambert's success hastened the ruin of the parliament. He transmitted a petition to the commons, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed commander in chief, himself lieutenant-general, Desborow major-general of the horse, and Monk of the foot. The members, alarmed at the danger, voted that they would have no more general officers; vacated Fleetwood's commission, and gave the command of the army to seven persons, of whom he was one. Sir Arthur Haselrig even proposed the impeachment of Lambert. But that artful and able general, despising such impotent resolutions, advanced with his hardy veterans to London; and taking possession of all the streets that led to Westminster-hall, inter- Oct. 13.

5 Burnet, vol. i.

6 Id. ibid.—This was one of the master-strokes of Cromwell's policy. Having all the king's party in a net, and pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should be remarked, he let them dance in it at pleasure; and when he confined any of them, as he afterward restored them to liberty, his precaution passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion; for he never brought any of them to trial, except for conspiracies that admitted the fullest proof.

7 Burnet, ubi sup.

cepted the speaker, and excluded the other members from the house [8].

Finding themselves once more possessed of the supreme authority, the substance of which they intended for ever to retain, though they might bestow on others the shadow, the officers elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were of their own body. These they pretended to invest with sovereign power, under the name of a *Committee of Safety*. They frequently spoke of summoning a parliament chosen by the people, though nothing could be farther from their intentions; but they really took some steps toward assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment in the army [9]. The most melancholy apprehensions prevailed among the nobility and gentry, throughout the three kingdoms, of a general massacre and extermination; and, among the body of the people, of a perpetual and cruel servitude under those sanctified robbers, who threatened the extirpation of all private morality, as they had already expelled all public law and justice from the British dominions [10].

While the British dominions were thus agitated with fears and intestine commotions, their lawful sovereign was wandering on the continent, a neglected fugitive. After leaving Paris, he went to Spa, and thence to Cologne, where he lived two years, on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and some contributions sent him by his friends in England. He next removed to Brussels, where he enjoyed certain emoluments from the Spanish government. Reduced to despair by the failure of every attempt for his restoration, he resolved to try the weak resource of foreign aid, and went to the Pyrénées, when the two prime ministers of France and Spain were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis de Haro received

8 Ludlow, vol. ii.—Clarendon. 9 Ludlow's *Mem.*
10 Hume, vol. vii.

him with warm expressions of kindness, and intimated a desire of assisting him, if it had been consistent with the low condition of the Spanish monarchy; but the cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the English republic, would not even have an interview with him[11].

At this very time, however, when Charles seemed abandoned by all the world, fortune was paving the way for him, by a surprising revolution, to mount the throne of his ancestors in peace and triumph. It was to general Monk that the king was to owe his restoration, and the three kingdoms the termination of their bloody dissensions. Of this man it will be proper to give some account.

George Monk, descended from an honourable but declining family in Devonshire, was properly a soldier of fortune. He had acquired military experience in Flanders, that great school of war to all the European nations; and though free from superstition and enthusiasm, and remarkably cool in regard to party, he had distinguished himself in the royal cause, during the civil wars of England, as colonel in the service of Charles I.; but being taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, where he endured, for above two years, all the rigours of poverty and imprisonment, he was at last persuaded by Cromwell to enter into the service of the parliament, and sent, according to his agreement, to act against the Irish rebels; a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcileable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once, however, engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himself necessitated to act both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland and against Charles II. in Scotland. On the reduction of the latter kingdom, he was gratified with the supreme command; and by the equity and justice of his administration, he acquired the good-will of the Scots, at the same time that he kept

11 Clarendon.

their restless spirit in awe, and secured the attachment of his army[12].

The connexions which Monk had formed with Oliver kept him faithful to Richard Cromwell; and not being prepared for opposition, when the long parliament was restored, he acknowledged its authority, and was continued in his command. But no sooner was the parliament expelled by the army, than he protested against the violence: and resolving, as he pretended, to vindicate the invaded privileges of that body, though in reality he was disposed to effect the restoration of his sovereign, he collected his scattered forces, and declared his intention of marching into England. The Scots furnished him with a small, but seasonable supply of money, and he advanced toward the borders of the two kingdoms with a body of six thousand men. Lambert, he soon learned, was coming northward with a superior army; and, to gain time, he proposed an accommodation. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, under pretence that they had exceeded their powers, and drew the committee into a new negotiation.

In the mean time Haselrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. That assembly was restored: and, without taking any notice of Lambert, the commons sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to certain garrisons which were appointed for their quarters. Lambert, being now deserted by the greater part of his troops, was sent to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the

Dec. 26.

A. D. 1660.

12 Gumble's *Life of Monk*.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*.—Monk is said to have advised Cromwell to attack the Scots at Dunbar, even before they had left their mountainous situation. "They," observed he, in support of his opinion, "have numbers and "the hills, we discipline and despair!"—a sentiment truly military, and devoid of that fanaticism which governed Cromwell on the occasion.

parliament, but who had resumed their commands, were confined to their houses; and sir Henry Vane, and some other members, who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into a like confinement. Monk continued to advance with his army; and at last, took up his quarters at Westminster. When introduced to the house, he declared, that, while on his march, he observed an anxious expectation of a settlement among all ranks of men; that they had no hope of such a blessing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and the summoning a new one, free and full; which, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation. And it would be sufficient, he added, for public security, as well as for liberty, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded[13].

This speech, though not very agreeable to the assembly to which it was addressed, diffused general joy among the people. The hope of peace and concord broke, like the morning sun, from the darkness in which the nation was involved, and the memory of past calamities disappeared. The royalists and the presbyterians seemed to have but one wish, and equally to lament the dire effects of their calamitous divisions. The republican parliament, though reduced to despair, made a last effort for the recovery of its dominion. A committee was sent with offers to the general. Proposals were even made by some, though enemies to a supreme magistrate, for investing him with the dignity of protector; so great were their apprehensions of the royal resentment, or the fury of the people! He refused to hear them except in the presence of the secluded members; and having, in the mean time, opened a correspondence with the city of London, and placed its militia in sure hands, he pursued every measure proper for the settlement of the nation, though he still pretended to maintain republican principles.

13 Gumble's *Life of Monk*.

The secluded members, encouraged by the general's declaration, went to the house of commons, and entering without obstruction, immediately found themselves to be the majority. They began with repealing the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers; they established a council of state, consisting chiefly of those men who, during the civil war, had made a figure among the presbyterians; and, after other expedient and seasonable votes, issued writs for a new parliament[14].

Feb. 21.

The council of state conferred the command of the fleet on Montague, whose attachment to the royal family was well known; and thus secured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favourable to the projected revolution. But Monk, notwithstanding all these steps toward the re-establishment of monarchy, still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth; and had never declared otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interests. At last a critical circumstance drew a confession from him. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from Charles, applied for access to the general, and absolutely refused to communicate his business to any other person. Monk, pleased with this closeness, so conformable to his own temper, admitted Granville into his presence, and opened to him his full intentions. He refused, however, to commit any thing to writing; but delivered a verbal message, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, lest he should be detained as a pledge for the restitution of Dunkirk and Jamaica[15].

The elections for the new parliament were highly favourable to the friends of monarchy, for, although the parliament had voted, that no one should be elected who had himself, or whose father had, borne arms for the late king, little regard was paid to this ordinance. The passion

14 Whitelocke.—Clarendon. 15 Clarendon.

for liberty, which had been carried to such violent extremes, and produced such bloody commotions, began to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience. The earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Roberts, Denzil Holles, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other leaders of the presbyterians, resolved to atone for their past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal cause [16]. Nor were the affairs of Ireland in a condition less favourable to the restoration of monarchy. Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, had even gone so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king; and, in conjunction with sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government, and excluded general Ludlow, an able officer, who was zealous for the parliament [17].

These promising views had almost been blasted by some critical circumstances. On the admission of the secluded members into parliament, the heads of the republican faction were seised with the deepest despair, and endeavoured to rouse the army against the ruling party; and, while their persuasions were operating upon the troops, Lambert made his escape from the Tower. Monk and the council, acquainted with his vigour and activity, as well as with his popularity in the army, were thrown into the utmost consternation at this event. But happily colonel Ingoldsby, who was immediately dispatched after him, overtook him at Daventry, before he had assembled any considerable force, and brought him back to his place of confinement. In a few days he would have been formidable.

At the meeting of the parliament, the leading members exerted themselves chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of the late king; no one yet daring to make any mention of the second Charles. At length the general, having sufficiently sounded the inclinations of the com-

16 Clarendon.—Whitelocke. 17 Clarendon.—Whitelocke.

mons, desired the president of the council to inform them, that sir John Granville was at the door with a letter from his majesty to the parliament. The loudest acclamations resounded through the house on this intelligence. Granville was called in; and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was eagerly read. The declaration was well calculated to promote the joy inspired by the prospect of a settlement. It offered a general amnesty, leaving particular exceptions to be made by parliament: it promised liberty of conscience: it assured the soldiers of their arrears, and the same pay they then enjoyed: and it submitted to parliamentary arbitration, an inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations [18].

The peers perceiving the spirit with which the nation was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient rights, and take their share in the settlement of the government. They found the doors of their house open, and were all admitted without exception. The two houses attended while the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar; and a committee of lords and commons were dispatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own subjects; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea-ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the Dutch, and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudest acclamations. The states-general, in a body, made their compliments to him with the greatest solemnity; and all ambassadors and foreign ministers expressed the joy of their masters at his change of fortune [19].

The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament, persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sove-

18 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. 19 Clarendon.

reign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet, as high admiral. When Charles disembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. He entered London on his birth-day, amid the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, who expressed the most sincere satisfaction at the restoration of their ancient constitution and their native prince, without the effusion of blood[20]. May 29.

We must now, my dear Philip, take a retrospective view of the progress of navigation, commerce, and colonisation, before we carry farther the general transactions of Europe. Without such a survey, we should never be able to judge distinctly of the interests, claims, quarrels, and treaties of the several European nations.

20 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

LETTER XI.

Of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonisation, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

THE discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in America, soon excited the ardour, the avarice, and the ambition of other European nations. The English and Dutch were particularly tempted, by their maritime situation and commercial spirit, as well as by their great progress in navigation, to use every effort to share in the riches of the east and west; and the Reformation, by abolishing the papal jurisdiction, left them free from religious restraints. Nor did the Dutch long want such motives as arose from necessity, for entering into a competition with the ravagers of the New World and the conquerors of India, in those

distant seats of their wealth and power. Before I relate the bold enterprises of these republicans, however, it will be proper to trace the farther progress of the Portuguese and Spaniards in navigation, commerce, and colonisation[1].

No sooner had Cortez completed the conquest of the Mexican empire, than he ordered ship-builders to repair to Zacatula, a port on the South Sea, in order to equip a fleet destined for the Molucca islands. From their trade with those islands the Portuguese drew immense wealth; all which he hoped to secure for the crown of Castile, by a shorter navigation[2]. But he was ignorant, that, during the progress of his victorious arms in the New World, the very plan he was attempting to execute had been prosecuted with success by a navigator in the service of his country.

A.D. 1521.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, who had acted several years in the East Indies with distinguished valour, as an officer under the famous Albuquerque, disgusted with his general, and slighted by his sovereign, renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Spain, in hopes that his merit would there be more justly estimated. He endeavoured to recommend himself by reviving Columbus's original project of discovering a passage to India by a westerly course, without encroaching on that portion of the globe which had been allotted to the Portuguese by the pope's line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the Spanish councils, listened with a favourable ear to Magellan's proposal, and recommended it to his master Charles V. who, entering into the measure with ardour, honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-general, and furnished him with five ships, victualled for two years.

With this squadron Magellan sailed from Seville on the 10th of August, 1519; and after touching at the Canaries,

1 For an account of their first discoveries and conquests, see Part I. Let. LIX.

2 Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. 1.

stood directly south, toward the equinoctial, along the coast of America. But he was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet, for that communication with the South Sea which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river de la Plata before the 12th of January, 1520. Allured to enter by the spacious opening through which that vast body of water pours itself into the Atlantic, he sailed up it for some days; but concluding at last, from the shallowness of the stream, and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for straight was not situated there, he returned and continued his course toward the south. On the 31st of March he arrived at Port St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter, the severe season then coming on in those latitudes. Here he lost one of his ships; and his men suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the climate, that they insisted on his relinquishing the visionary project, and returning to Europe. But Magellan, by ordering the principal mutineer to be assassinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage toward the south. In holding this course, he at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a straight, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs of his officers. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous passage, which still bears his name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and inspired him with new hopes, while his adventurous soul effused itself to Heaven in a transport of joy for the success which had already attended his endeavours[3].

Magellan, however, was still at a great distance from the object of his wishes; and greater far than he imagined. Three months and twenty days did he sail in an uniform

3 Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii. c. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

direction toward the north-west, without discovering land; during which voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, his people suffered incredible distress from scarcity of provisions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumstance, and one only, afforded them some consolation: they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such mild winds as induced Magellan to bestow on that ocean the epithet of *pacific*. At length they fell in with a cluster of small islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance that their health was soon restored. From these islands, which he called Ladrones, he continued his voyage, and soon made a discovery of the Manillas. In Zebu, one of the last-mentioned group, he had an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of well-armed troops; and
April 26. while he fought gallantly at the head of his men, he was slain, with several of his officers, by those fierce barbarians[4].

On the death of this great navigator, the expedition was prosecuted under different commanders. They encountered many difficulties in ranging among the smaller islands scattered in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, touched at the great island of Borneo, and at last landed at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese; who, ignorant of the figure of the earth, could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had reached that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction!—At this, and the adjacent islands, the Spaniards found a
A. D. 1522. people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of spices, the distinguished produce of those islands; and with other specimens

4 Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

of the commodities yielded by the rich countries which they had visited, the Victory (which, of the remaining ships was most fit for a long voyage) set sail for Europe, under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope; and, after a variety of disasters, arrived at St. Lucar [5].

The Spanish merchants eagerly engaged in the attractive commerce which was thus unexpectedly opened to them; while their men of science were employed in demonstrating, that the Spice-islands were so situated as to belong to the crown of Castile, in consequence of the partition made by pope Alexander VI. But the Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, at the same time that they obstructed in Asia the trade of the Spaniards; and Charles V., always poor, notwithstanding his great resources, and unwilling to add a rupture with Portugal to the war in which he was then engaged, A.D. 1529. made over to that crown his claim to the Moluccas for a sum of money [6].

In consequence of this agreement, the Portuguese continued undisturbed, and without a rival, masters of the trade of India; and the Manillas lay neglected, till Philip II. succeeded to the crown of Spain. Soon after his accession, he formed the scheme of planting A.D. 1555. a colony in those islands, to which he gave the name of the Philippines. This he accomplished by means of an armament fitted out for new Spain. Manilla, in the island of Luçonia, was the station chosen for the capital of the new establishment; and, in order to induce the Spaniards to settle there, the rising colony was authorised to send the commodities of India to America, in exchange for the precious metals [7].

5 Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3. 6 Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 5.

7 When Philip granted this indulgence, unless he meant afterward to withdraw it, he was certainly little acquainted with the commercial interests of Old Spain.

From Manilla an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. By their means the colony was so amply supplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, that it was soon enabled to open an advantageous trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe[8]. This trade was originally carried on with Callao, the port of Lima, and the most commodious harbour on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the superior facility of an intercourse with New Spain, the staple of the commerce between America and Asia was removed from Callao to Acapulco[9].

The Spanish colony in the Philippines, having no immediate connexions with Europe, gave no uneasiness to the Portuguese, and received no annoyance from them. In the mean time the Portuguese not only continued to monopolise the commerce of the East, but were masters of the coast of Guinea as well as that of Arabia, Persia, and the two peninsulas of India. They possessed the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the isles of Sunda, with the trade of China and Japan; and they had made their colony of Brasil, which occupies the immense territory that lies between the isle of Maragnan and the Rio de la Plata, one of the most valuable districts in America. But like all na-

8 Torquemada, lib. v. c. 14.—Robertson's *Hist. of Amer.* book viii.

9 Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Old Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the parent kingdom: as tending to give rise to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between Acapulco and Manilla is still carried on to a considerable extent, and allowed under certain restrictions.

tions which have suddenly acquired great riches, the Portuguese began to feel the enfeebling effects of luxury and effeminacy. That hardy valour, which had subdued so many nations, existed no longer among them: they were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a prospect of plunder. Corruption prevailed in all the departments of government, and the spirit of rapine among all ranks of men. At the same time that they gave themselves up to all those excesses which make usurpers hated, they wanted courage to make themselves feared. Equally detested in every quarter, they at length saw themselves ready to be expelled from India by a confederacy of the princes of the country; and, although they were able, by a desperate effort, to break this storm, their destruction was at hand[10]. A. D. 1572.

When Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, in consequence of the fatal catastrophe of Don Sebastian and his gallant nobles on the coast of Africa, Philip became possessed of greater resources than any monarch in ancient or modern times. But instead of employing his enormous wealth in providing for the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of his widely extended empire, he profusely dissipated it, in endeavouring to render himself as despotic in Europe as he was already in America, and in no inconsiderable portion of Asia and Africa. While he was employed in this ambitious project, his possessions in India were neglected; and as the Portuguese hated the dominion of the Spaniards, they paid little attention to the security of their settlements. No one pursued any other object than his own immediate interest: there was no union, no zeal for the public good[11]. A. D. 1580.

Affairs could not continue long in this state; and a new

10 Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. 1.—Guyon, *Hist. des Ind. Orient.* tom iii.
11 Id. ibid.

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regulation, in regard to trade, completed the ruin of the Portuguese settlements in India. Philip, whose bigotry and despotism had induced him to attempt to deprive the inhabitants of the Low Countries of their civil and religious liberties, in order more effectually to accomplish his aim, prohibited his new subjects from holding any correspondence with the revolted provinces.

A.D. 1594.

This was a severe blow to the trade of the Hollanders, which consisted chiefly, as at present, in supplying the wants of one nation with the produce of another. Their merchants, eager to augment their commerce, had gotten the trade of Lisbon into their hands. There they purchased the goods of India, which they sold in the sequel to the different states of Europe. They were therefore struck with consternation at a prohibition, which excluded them from so essential a branch of their trade; and Philip did not foresee, that a restriction, by which he hoped to weaken the Dutch, would, in the end, render them more formidable. Had they been permitted to continue their intercourse with Portugal, there is reason to believe that they would have contented themselves with their commerce in the European seas; but finding it impossible to preserve their trade without the commodities of the East, they resolved to seek them at the original market, as they were deprived of every other[12].

In consequence of this resolution, the Hollanders fitted out some ships for India; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to find a passage thither through the North Sea, they proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, who had resided some time at Lisbon, and made

A.D. 1595.

12 *Avertissement, à la tête du Reçueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'Establissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.*

himself perfectly acquainted with every thing relative to the object of his voyage. His success, though by no means extraordinary, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to form the project of establishing a settlement in the island of Java. Admiral Van Neck, who was sent on that important expedition with eight ships, A. D. 1597. found the inhabitants of Java prejudiced against his countrymen. They permitted him, however, to trade; and having sent home four vessels laden with spices, and other India commodities, he sailed to the Moluccas, where he met with a more favourable reception. The natives, he learned, had forced the Portuguese to abandon some places, and only waited an opportunity of expelling them from the rest. He entered into a treaty with some of the sovereigns, established factories in A. D. 1599. several of the islands, and returned to Europe with his remaining ships richly laden[13].

The success of this voyage spread the most extravagant joy over the United Provinces. New associations were daily formed for carrying on the trade to India, and new fleets fitted out from every port of the republic. But the ardour of forming these associations, though terrible to the Portuguese, who never knew when they were in safety, or where they could with certainty annoy the enemy, had almost proved the ruin of the Dutch trade to the East. The rage of purchasing raised the value of commodities in Asia, and the necessity of selling made them bear a low price in Europe. The adventurers were in danger of falling a sacrifice to their own efforts, and to their laudable jealousy and emulation, when the wisdom of government saved them from ruin, by uniting the A. D. 1602. different societies into one great body, under the name of the *East-India-Company*[14].

13 *Avertissement, à la tête de Requeil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'Establissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.*

14 *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*—Salengre, *Essai d'une Hist. des Prov. Unies.*

This company, which was invested with authority to make peace or war with the Indian princes, to erect forts, choose governors, maintain garrisons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice, set out with great advantages. The incredible number of vessels fitted out by the private associations had contributed to make all the branches of eastern commerce perfectly understood, to form many able officers and seamen, and to encourage the most reputable citizens to become members of the new company. Fourteen ships were accordingly fitted out for India, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Dutch consider as the founder of their lucrative commerce and powerful establishments in the east. He erected a factory in the island of Java, and secured it by fortifications: he founded another in the territories of the king of Jahor, and formed alliances with several princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portuguese, in which he was generally successful[15]. A furious war ensued between the two nations.

During this war, which lasted for many years, the Dutch frequently sent to India fresh supplies of men and ships, while the Portuguese received no succours from Europe. Spain, it should seem, wished to humble her new subjects, whom she did not think sufficiently submissive, and to perpetuate her authority over them by the ruin of their wealth and power: she neither repaired their fortifications nor renewed their garrisons. Yet the scale remained even for a while, and the success was various on both sides; but the persevering Hollanders, by their unwearied efforts, at length deprived the Portuguese of Ceylon, the Moluccas, and all their valuable possessions in the East, except Goa, at the same time that they acquired the almost exclusive trade of China and Japan. The island of Java, however,

15 Salengre, ub. sup.

where they had erected their first fortifications, and early built the splendid city of Batavia, continued to be, as it is at present, the seat of their principal settlement, and the centre of their power in India.

But these new republicans, flushed with success, were not satisfied with their acquisitions in the east. They turned their eyes also toward the west: they established a colony, to which they gave the name of Nova-Belgia, on Hudson's River, in North America; they annoyed the trade, and plundered the settlements of the Spaniards, in every part of the New World; and they made themselves masters of the important colony of Brasil in South America. But this was not a permanent conquest. When the Portuguese had shaken off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch; they rose against their oppressors; and after a variety of struggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brasil, in 1654[16]. Since that æra the Portuguese have continued in possession of this rich territory, the principal support of their declining monarchy, and the most valuable European settlement in America.

The English East-India Company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet, consisting of five stout ships, was fitted out the year following, under the command of James Lancaster; who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he formed a commercial treaty, and arrived in the Downs, after a prosperous voyage of near two years. Other voyages were performed with equal advantage. But notwithstanding these temporary encouragements, the English had to struggle with many difficulties, and laboured under essential inconveniences. Their rivals, the Portuguese and Dutch, had harbours of which they were absolute masters; towns which

16 *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome XIV.

they had built, and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they had acquired possession either by force or fraud, and over which they exerted an arbitrary sway. Their trade was therefore protected, not only against the violence or caprice of the natives of India, but also against the attempts of new competitors. They had every opportunity of getting a good sale for the commodities which they carried out from Europe, and of purchasing those they brought home at a moderate price; whereas the English, who at first acted merely as fair traders, having none of these advantages, were at once exposed to the uncertainty of general markets, which were frequently anticipated or overstocked, to the variable humour of the natives, and to the imperious will of their European rivals, who had the power of excluding them from the principal ports of the East[17].

In order to remedy these inconveniences, the English company saw the necessity of departing from their original principles, and of opposing force by force. But as such an effort was beyond the resources of an infant society, they hoped to receive assistance from government. In this reasonable expectation, however, they were disappointed by the weak and timid policy of James I. who only enlarged their charter; yet, by their activity, perseverance, and the judicious choice of their officers and other servants, they not only maintained their trade, but erected forts and established factories in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda[18].

A.D. 1616.

The Dutch were alarmed at these establishments. Having driven the Portuguese from the Spice-islands, they never meant to suffer any European nation to settle there; much less a people, whose maritime force, government, and character, would make them dangerous rivals. They

17 *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tome ii.—Raynal, tome i.

18 *Harleian Collect. of Voyages*, vol. viii.

accordingly endeavoured to dispossess the English by all possible means. They began with attempting, by calumnious accusations, to render them odious to the natives of the countries where they had settled. But finding these shameful expedients ineffectual, they had recourse to violence; and the Indian Ocean became a scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two companies [19].

At length an attempt was made to put a period to those hostilities by a very remarkable treaty, which reflects little honour on the political sagacity either of the English or Dutch, if the latter, as is alleged, did not mean it as a veil to their future violences. It was agreed that the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the companies of the two nations; that the English should have one third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce, at a fixed price; that each, in proportion to their interest, should contribute to the defence of those islands; that this treaty should remain in force twenty years, during which the entire trade of India should remain equally free to both nations, neither of them endeavouring to injure the other by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives; and that all disputes, which could not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be finally settled and determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces [20].

A. D. 1619.

The fate of this treaty was such as might have been expected from one party or the other. The avarice of the Dutch prompted them to take advantage of the confidential security of the English, and to plunder the factories of Lantore and Poleron, after exercising the most atrocious cruelties on the servants of the company. The supineness of the English government encouraged them to act the

19 *Harleian Collect. of Voyages*, vol. viii.

20 Id. ibid.

same tragedy, accompanied with still more horrid circumstances of barbarity, at Amboyna[21]: where confessions of a pretended conspiracy were obtained by tortures at which humanity shudders, and which ought never to be forgotten or forgiven by Englishmen.

A.D. 1623.

In consequence of these unexpected violences, for which the feeble administration of James I. obtained no reparation, the English were obliged to abandon the Spice-islands to the rapacity of the Dutch; and though they were less unfortunate on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the civil wars which convulsed England in the reign of Charles I. and which took off all attention from distant objects, reduced the affairs of their company to a very low condition. Their trade revived during the commonwealth; and Cromwell, on the conclusion of the war with Holland, obtained several stipulations in their favour; but which, from the confusions that ensued, were never executed. On the accession of Charles II. they hoped to recover their consequence in India. But that needy and profligate prince, who is said to have betrayed their interests to the Dutch for a bribe, cruelly extorted loans from them, at the same time that he injured their trade, by selling licences to interlopers; and by these means reduced them to the brink of ruin.

The English were more successful in establishing themselves, during this period, in North America and the West Indies. As early as the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, in the service of Henry VII. had discovered the Island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the shores of the North-American continent, from the Gulf of St. Laurence to Cape Florida. But no advantage was taken of these discoveries before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth; when the bigotry and ambition of Philip roused the indignation of all the Protestant powers, but more espe-

21 Id. ibid.

cially of England, and incited many bold adventurers to commit hostilities against his subjects in the New World. Of these the most distinguished was sir Francis Drake; who, having acquired considerable wealth by his depredations against the Spaniards on the Isthmus of Darien, passed with four ships into the South Sea, by the strait of Magellan, captured some rich vessels, and returned to England, in 1580, by the Cape of Good Hope [22]. His success excited the avidity of new adventurers; and the knowledge which was, by these means, acquired of the different parts of the American continent, suggested to the celebrated sir Walter Raleigh the idea of a settlement within the limits of the coasts formerly visited by Cabot.

A company was accordingly formed for that purpose, in consequence of Raleigh's magnificent promises; a patent was obtained from the queen, conformable to their views, and two ships were sent out, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, in 1584. They came to anchor in the bay of Roanoke, in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, of which they took formal possession for the crown of England. On their return they gave so favourable an account of the climate, soil, and temper of the inhabitants, that a colony was planted in the following year; and Elizabeth, to encourage the undertaking, honoured the colony with the name of VIRGINIA, in allusion to her favourite but much-disputed virtue.

This settlement, however, did not prosper, and it was abandoned in 1588. From that time to the year 1606, when two new companies were chartered by James I. no attempt appears to have been made by the English to settle on the coast of North America. One of the new companies consisted of adventurers residing in the city of London, who were desirous of settling towards the south, or in what is at present called Virginia; and the other, of adventurers belonging to Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter,

22 Hackluyt's *Collect.* vol. iii.

who chose the country more to the North, or what is now called New England. The London Company immediately fitted out two vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with a hundred and ten adventurers on board, and all kinds of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the necessary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many discontents among the future colonists, their little squadron reached the bay of Chesapeak. One of the adventurers, in the name of the whole, was appointed to treat with the natives, from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient spot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the English called James River. Here they erected a slight fort, barricaded with trunks of trees, and surrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king[23]. Such was the slender beginning of the colony of Virginia; which, though it had to struggle at first with many difficulties, become, even before the Restoration, of very great national consequence.

Virginia owed its rapid prosperity chiefly to the culture of tobacco, its staple commodity, and to the number of royalists that took refuge there, in order to escape the tyranny of the parliament. Similar causes gave population and prosperity to the neighbouring province of Maryland. This territory being granted by Charles I. to Cecil lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman (whose father, sir George Calvert, had sought an asylum in Newfoundland, in order to enjoy the free exercise of his religion), he formed the scheme of a settlement where he might not only enjoy liberty of conscience himself, but also be enabled to grant it to such of his friends as should prefer an easy banishment with freedom to the conveniences of England, embittered as they then were by the sharpness of the laws against sectaries, and the

A.D. 1632.

23 Smith's *Hist. of Virginia.*

popular odium that hung over papists. The project succeeded; the catholics flocked to the new settlements in great numbers, especially on the decline of the royal cause; and Maryland soon became a flourishing colony[24].

New England owed its rise to similar circumstances. A small body of the most enthusiastic puritans, afterwards known by the name of Independents, in order to avoid the severity of the English laws against non-conformity, had taken refuge in Holland in the reign of James I. But although Holland is a country of the greatest religious freedom, they were not better satisfied there than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition, and, being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary. They were desirous of removing to a country where they should see no superior. With this view, they applied to the Plymouth Company, for a patent of part of the territory included in its grant. Pleased with this application, the company readily complied; and these pious adventurers having made the necessary preparations for their voyage, embarked in one ship, in 1620, to the number of a hundred and twenty persons, and landed at a place near Cape Cod, where they built a town to which they gave the name of New Plymouth[25]. Other adventurers, of the same complexion, followed those[26]; and New Eng-

24 Douglas's *Summary*, Part II. sect. xv.

25 Douglas.—Hutchinson.

26 Among the number of persons so disposed, we are told, appeared John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, who were only prevented from executing their purpose of going into voluntary exile, by a royal proclamation, issued after they were on shipboard, in 1637, prohibiting future emigrations, without a licence from the privy council. (*Neale's History of the Puritans*, vol. ii.) The exultation of the puritanical writers on this subject is excessive. They ascribe all the subsequent misfortunes of Charles I., in connection with the scheme of Providence, to that tyrannical edict, as they are pleased to call it. (Neale, ubi sup. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, &c.) Nor can the speculative politician refrain from indulging a conjecture on the possible consequences of the emigration of two such extraordinary men, with that of others who would have followed them, at such a crisis. Charles, roused to arms, but not crushed, by the parliament, might have established absolute

land, in less than fifty years, became a great and populous colony, consisting of several independent governments, which were little inclined to acknowledge the authority of the mother-country.

Besides these large colonies in North America, the English had established a colony at Surinam, on the coast of Guiana, in South America, and taken possession of several of the West-Indian islands, early in the seventeenth century. Barbadoes and St. Christopher's were thriving colonies before the conquest of Jamaica; and the rapid cultivation of that large and fertile island, which had been much neglected by the Spaniards, with the improvement of her other plantations in the West Indies, soon gave England the command of the sugar-trade of Europe[27].

For the benefits of this, however, and of her whole colonial trade, England is ultimately indebted to the sagacity of the heads of the commonwealth-parliament. They perceived that those subjects, who, from various motives, had taken refuge in America, would be lost to the parent state, if the ships of foreign powers were not excluded from the ports of the plantations. The discussion of that important point, with other political considerations, led to the famous Navigation Act, which prohibited all foreign ships, unless under some particular exceptions, from entering the harbours of the English colo-

A.D. 1651.

sovereignty in England; while Hampden might have founded a commonwealth, or Cromwell erected a military despotism, in America. Possessed of a vast country, (for wherever they had gone they must have become leaders), they would never have submitted to the control of any power on this side of the Atlantic. The work of ages would have been accomplished in a few years. Sooner than have borne such control, Hampden would have taken refuge in the woods; have associated with the wild natives, and enrolled them among the number of his citizens. Cromwell, in such an emergency, would also have led his fanatical herd into the bosom of the forests; have hunted with the savages; have preached to them; have converted them; and, when he had made them Christians, they would have found they were slaves!—Though destitute of the talents of a Hampden or a Cromwell, the emigrants to the northern plantations had strongly imbibed those sentiments of political as well as religious independence, which they have ever since continued to cherish.

27 *Account of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii.

nies, and obliged their principal produce to be exported directly to countries under the dominion of England.

Before this regulation, which was with difficulty submitted to by some of the colonies, and frequently evaded by the fanatical and factious inhabitants of New-England, the colonists used to send their produce to any country where they thought it could be most advantageously disposed of, and indiscriminately admitted into their harbours ships of all nations. In consequence of that unlimited freedom, the greater part of their trade had fallen into the hands of the Dutch, who, by reason of the low interest of money in Holland, and the reasonableness of their port-duties, could afford to buy at thedearest, and sell at the cheapest rate; and who secured the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered[28]. The Navigation Act remedied this evil; and the English parliament, though aware of the inconveniences of such a regulation to the colonies, were not alarmed at its probable effects. They considered the empire only as a tree, whose sap must be returned to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

To all those settlements England thenceforth exported, without a rival, her various manufactures. From her islands in the West-Indies they passed to the Spanish main, whence large sums were returned in exchange; and, as it was long before the inhabitants of her Trans-Atlantic provinces began to think of manufacturing for themselves, the export thither was very great. Nor was her trade confined merely to America and the East and West-Indies. About the middle of the sixteenth century she had opened a beneficial trade to Russia, by discovering a passage round the North Cape; and the ingenuity of her manufacturers, who now excelled the Flemings, to whom the greater part of her wool used formerly to be sold, ensured her a market for her cloths in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

28 *Account of the European Settlements in America*, vol. ii.

France, though so distinguished in the sequel for her commerce and naval power, was late in establishing any permanent colony. She had yet no settlement in the East-Indies: the colony of Canada was only in its infancy; her settlements in Hispaniola were not formed; and the plantations in Martinique and Guadaloupe were very inconsiderable. Nor had her silk-manufacture yet attained that high degree of perfection which afterward rendered it so great a source of wealth.

Spain continued to receive annually immense sums from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Contiguous settlements and new governments were frequently formed, and the demand for European goods was excessive. But, as the decline of their manufactures obliged the Spaniards to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every country had his share; and the conquerors of the New World dwindled into the factors of England and Holland.

Such, my dear Philip, was the commercial state of Europe, when Louis XIV. assumed the reins of government, and Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. War continued to rage between the Spaniards and Portuguese; but, after an ambitious struggle of twenty-eight years, Spain was obliged to acknowledge, in 1668, the right of the family of Braganza to the crown of Portugal. The rest of Europe was in a state of peace.

A.D. 1660.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.